

• HISTORY •
OF •
• UTAH •

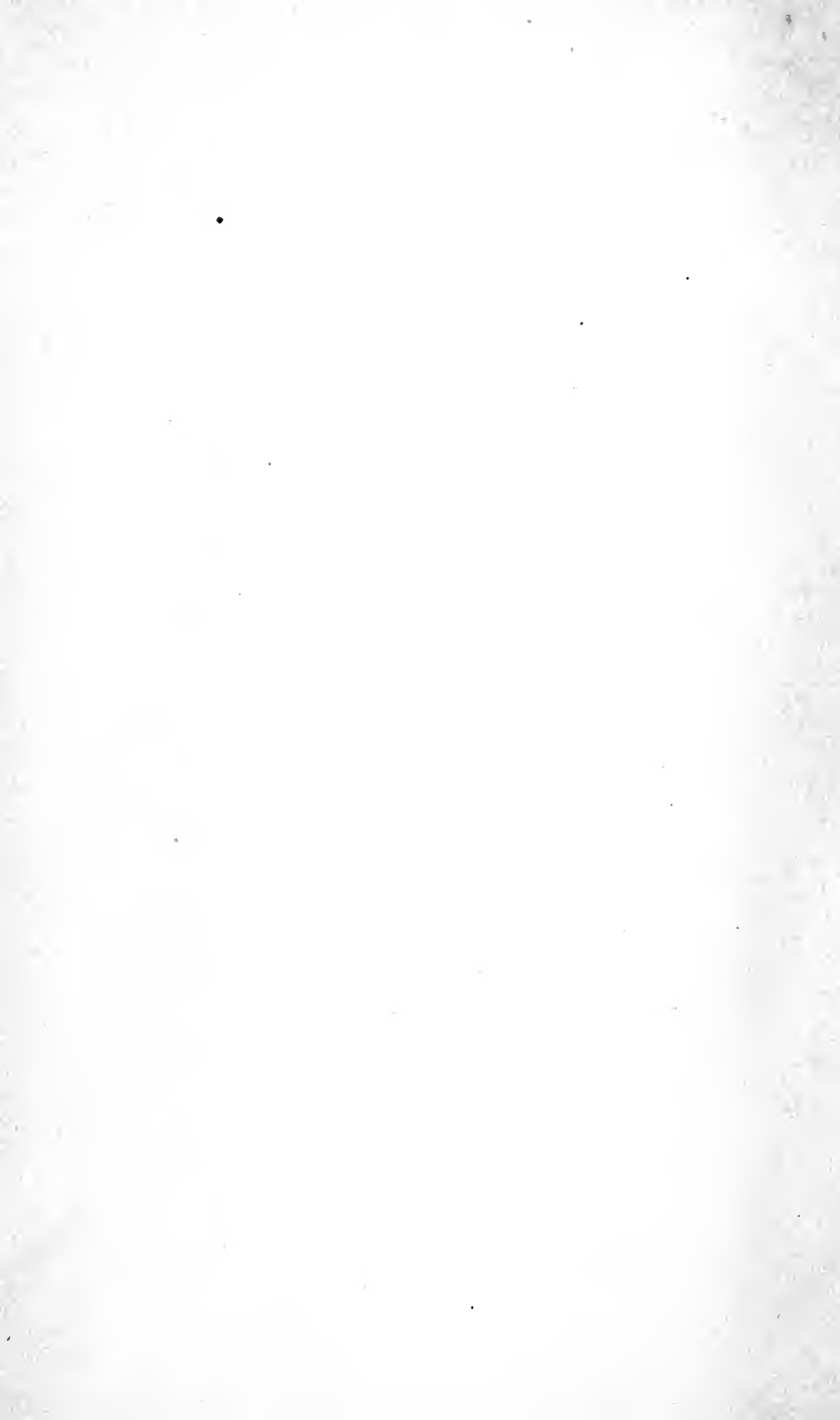
HISTORY
OF
UTAH

HUBERT H. BANCROFT

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Brigham Young

The 2d. President of the Church, 1845.

HISTORY OF UTAH



1540 1887

THE HISTORY OF UTAH
FROM 1540 TO 1887
BY

HUBERT
HOWE BANCROFT.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE HISTORY COMPANY,
PUBLISHERS.

1890

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PREFACE.

IN the history of Utah we come upon a new series of social phenomena, whose multiformity and unconventionality awaken the liveliest interest. We find ourselves at once outside the beaten track of conquest for gold and glory; of wholesale robberies and human slaughters for the love of Christ; of encomiendas, repartimientos, serfdoms, or other species of civilized imposition; of missionary invasion resulting in certain death to the aborigines, but in broad acres and well filled storehouses for the men of practical piety; of emigration for rich and cheap lands, or for colonization and empire alone; nor have we here a hurried scramble for wealth, or a corporation for the management of a game preserve. There is the charm of novelty about the present subject, if no other; for in our analyses of human progress we never tire of watching the behavior of various elements under various conditions.

There is only one example in the annals of America of the organization of a commonwealth upon principles of pure theocracy. There is here one example only where the founding of a state grew out of the founding of a new religion. Other instances there have been of the occupation of wild tracts on this continent by people flying before persecution, or desirous

of greater religious liberty; there were the quakers, the huguenots, and the pilgrim fathers, though their spiritual interests were so soon subordinated to political necessities; religion has often played a conspicuous part in the settlement of the New World, and there has at times been present in some degree the theocratic, if not indeed the hierarchal, idea; but it has been long since the world, the old continent or the new, has witnessed anything like a new religion successfully established and set in prosperous running order upon the fullest and combined principles of theocracy, hierarchy, and patriarchy.

With this new series of phenomena, a new series of difficulties arises in attempting their elucidation: not alone the perplexities always attending unexplored fields, but formidable embarrassments which render the task at once delicate and dangerous.

If the writer is fortunate enough to escape the many pitfalls of fallacy and illusion which beset his way; if he is wise and successful enough to find and follow the exact line of equity which should be drawn between the hotly contending factions; in a word, if he is honest and capable, and speaks honestly and openly in the treatment of such a subject, he is pretty sure to offend, and bring upon himself condemnation from all parties. But where there are palpable faults on both sides of a case, the judge who unites equity with due discrimination may be sure he is not in the main far from right if he succeeds in offending both sides. Therefore, amidst the multiformity of conflicting ideas and evidence, having abandoned all hope of satisfying others, I fall back upon the next most reasonable proposition left—that of satisfying myself.

In regard to the quality of evidence I here encounter, I will say that never before has it been my lot to meet with such a mass of mendacity. The attempts of almost all who have written upon the subject seem to have been to make out a case rather than to state the facts. Of course, by any religious sect dealing largely in the supernatural, fancying itself under the direct guidance of God, its daily doings a standing miracle, commingling in all the ordinary affairs of life prophecies, special interpositions, and revelations with agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, we must expect to find much written which none but that sect can accept as true.

And in relation to opposing evidence, almost every book that has been put forth respecting the people of Utah by one not a Mormon is full of calumny, each author apparently endeavoring to surpass his predecessor in the libertinism of abuse. Most of these are written in a sensational style, and for the purpose of deriving profit by pandering to a vitiated public taste, and are wholly unreliable as to facts. Some few, more especially among those first appearing, whose data were gathered by men upon the spot, and for the purpose of destroying what they regarded as a sacrilegious and pernicious fanaticism, though as vehement in their opposition as any, make some pretensions to honesty and sincerity, and are more worthy of credit. There is much in government reports, and in the writings of the later residents in Utah, dictated by honest patriotism, and to which the historian should give careful attention. In using my authorities, I distinguish between these classes, as it is not profitable either to pass by anything illustrating principles or affecting progress, or

to print pages of pure invention, palpable lies, even for the purpose of proving them such. Every work upon the subject, however, receives proper bibliographical notice.

The materials for Mormon church history are exceptionally full. Early in his career the first president appointed a historiographer, whose office has been continuous ever since. To his people he himself gave their early history, both the inner and intangible and the outer and material portions of it. Then missionaries to different posts were instructed to make a record of all pertinent doings, and lodge the same in the church archives. A sacred obligation seems to have been implied in this respect from the beginning, the *Book of Mormon* itself being largely descriptive of such migrations and actions as usually constitute the history of a people. And save in the matters of spiritual manifestations, which the merely secular historian cannot follow, and in speaking of their enemies, whose treatment we must admit in too many instances has been severe, the church records are truthful and reliable. In addition to this, concerning the settlement of the country, I have here, as in other sections of my historical field, visited the people in person, and gathered from them no inconsiderable stores of original and interesting information.

Upon due consideration, and with the problem fairly before me, three methods of treatment presented themselves from which to choose: first, to follow the beaten track of calumny and vituperation, heaping upon the Mormons every species of abuse, from the lofty sarcasm employed by some to the vulgar scurrility applied by others; second, to espouse

the cause of the Mormons as the weaker party, and defend them from the seeming injustice to which from the first they have been subjected; third, in a spirit of equity to present both sides, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. The first course, however popular, would be beyond my power to follow; the second method, likewise, is not to be considered; I therefore adopt the third course, and while giving the new sect a full and respectful hearing, withhold nothing that their most violent opposers have to say against them.

Anything written at the present day which may properly be called a history of Utah must be largely a history of the Mormons, these being the first white people to settle in the country, and at present largely occupying it. As others with opposing interests and influences appear, they and the great principles thereby brought to an issue receive the most careful consideration. And I have deemed it but fair, in presenting the early history of the church, to give respectful consideration to and a sober recital of Mormon faith and experiences, common and miraculous. The story of Mormonism, therefore, beginning with chapter iii., as told in the text, is from the Mormon standpoint, and based entirely on Mormon authorities; while in the notes, and running side by side with the subject-matter in the text, I give in full all anti-Mormon arguments and counter-statements, thus enabling the reader to carry along both sides at once, instead of having to consider first all that is to be said on one side, and then all that is to be said on the other.

In following this plan, I only apply to the history of Utah the same principles employed in all my historical efforts, namely, to give all the facts on every

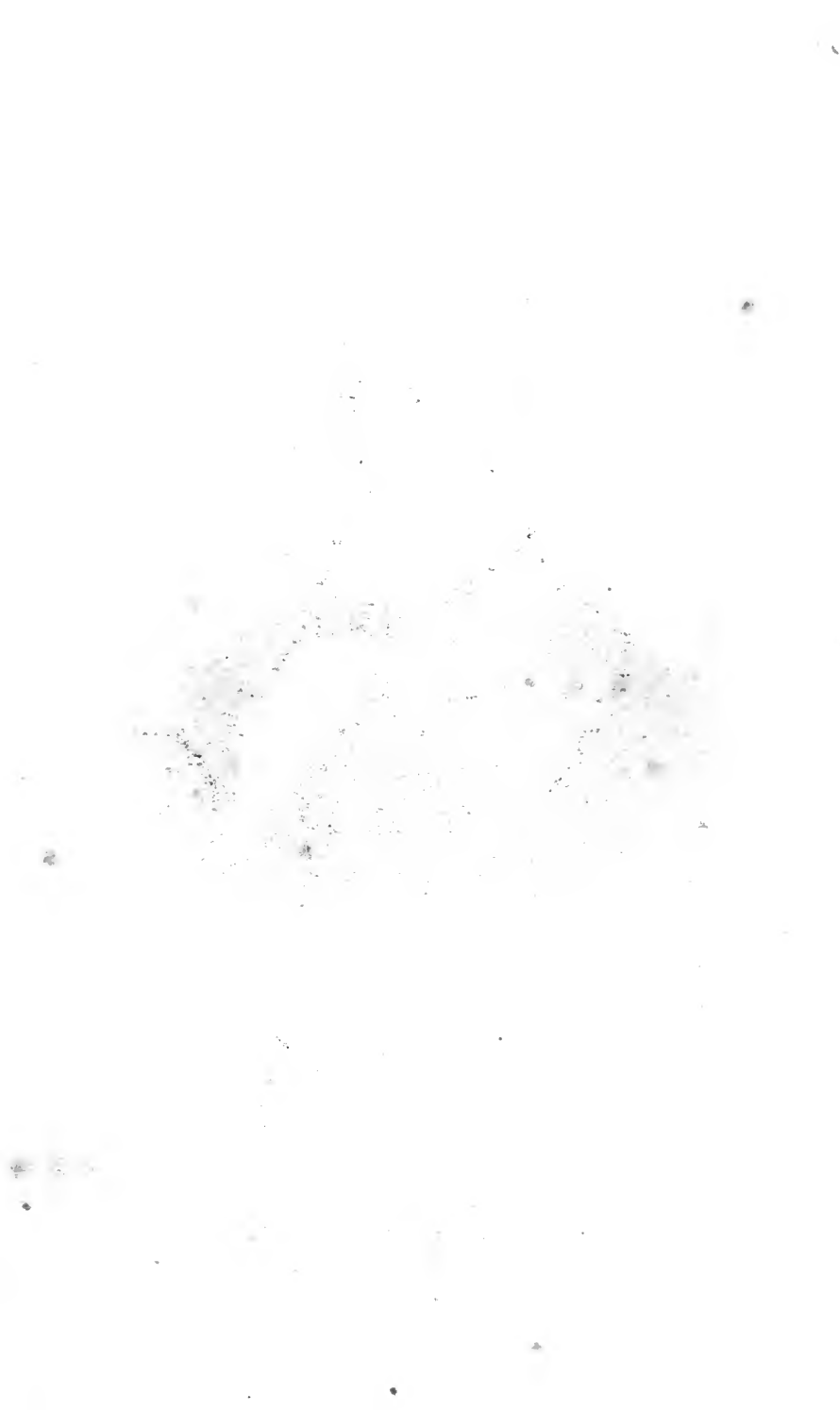
side pertinent to the subject. In giving the history of the invasion and occupation of the several sections of the Pacific States from Panamá to Alaska, I have been obliged to treat of the idiosyncrasies, motives, and actions of Roman catholics, methodists, presbyterians, episcopalians, and members of the Greek church: not of the nature or validity of their respective creeds, but of their doings, praising or blaming as praise or blame were due, judged purely from a standpoint of morals and humanity according to the highest standards of the foremost civilization of the world. It was not necessary—it was wholly outside the province of the historian, and contrary to my method as practised elsewhere—to discuss the truth or falsity of their convictions, any more than when writing the history of Mexico, California, or Oregon to advance my opinions regarding the inspiration of the scriptures, the divinity of Christ, prophecies, miracles, or the immaculate conception. On all these questions, as on the doctrines of the Mormons and of other sects, I have of course my opinions, which it were not only out of place but odious to be constantly thrusting upon the attention of the reader, who is seeking for facts only.

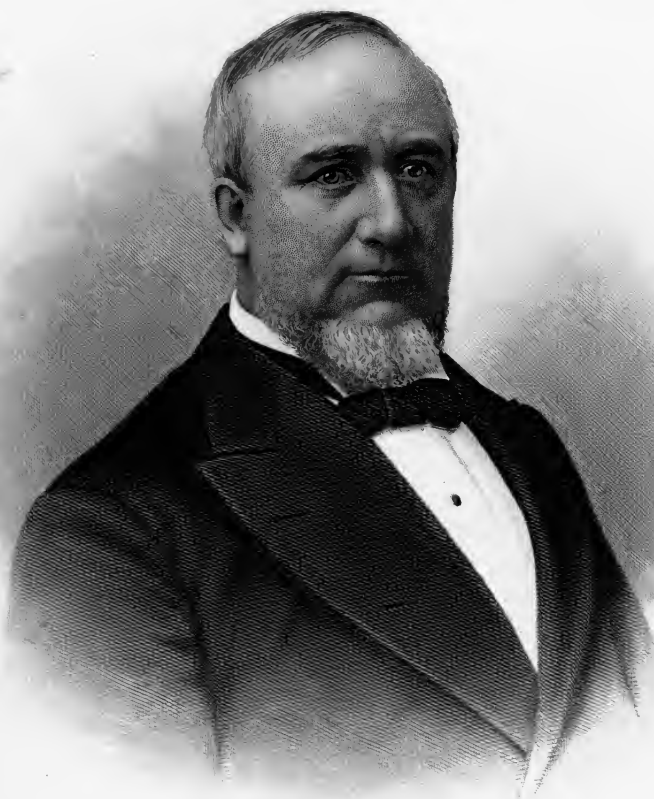
In one respect only I deem it necessary to go a little further here: inasmuch as doctrines and beliefs enter more influentially than elsewhere into the origin and evolution of this society, I give the history of the rise and progress of those doctrines. Theirs was not an old faith, the tenets of which have been fought for and discussed for centuries, but professedly a new revelation, whose principles are for the most part unknown to the outside world, where their purity is severely questioned. The settlement of this section sprung



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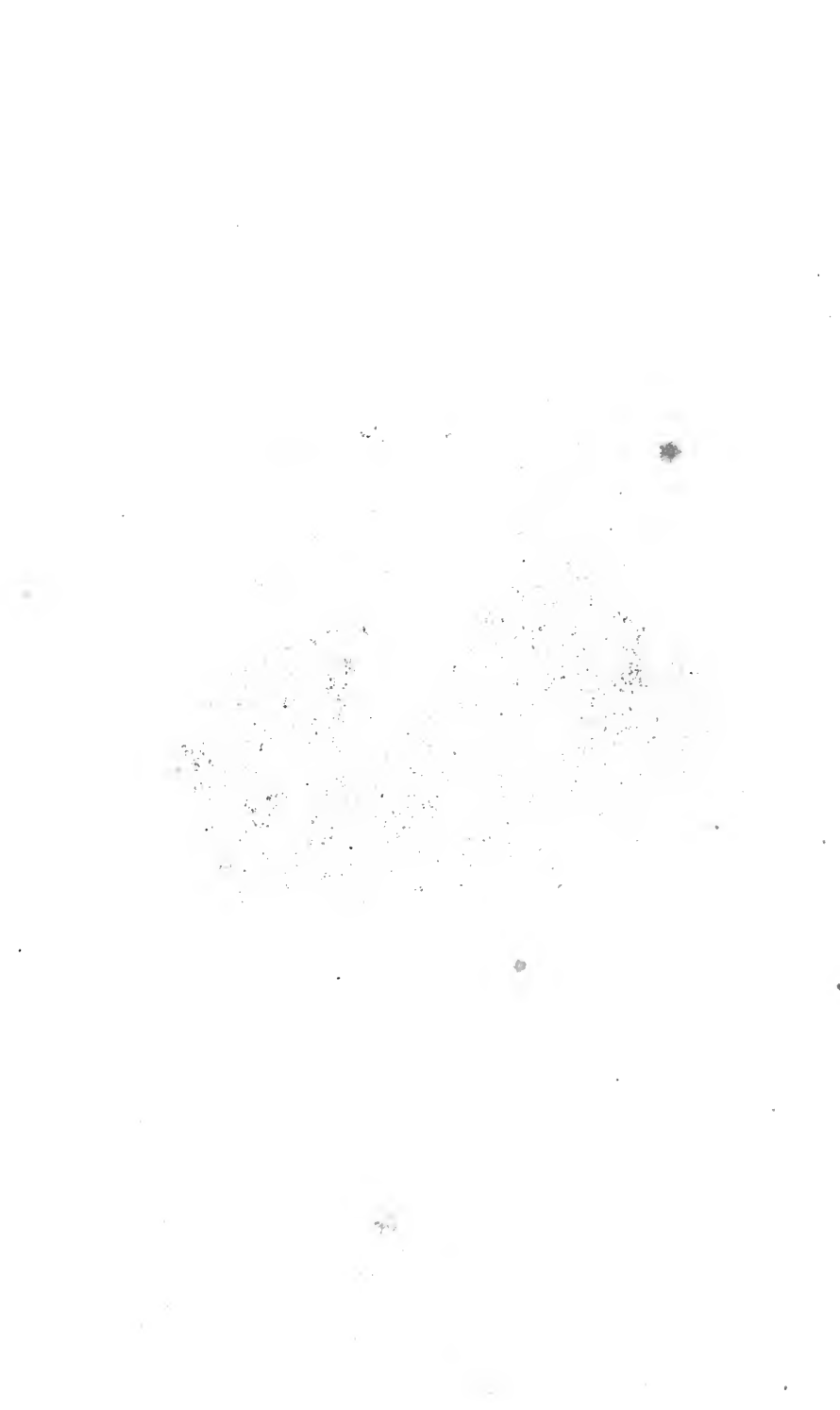
Wilford Woodruff





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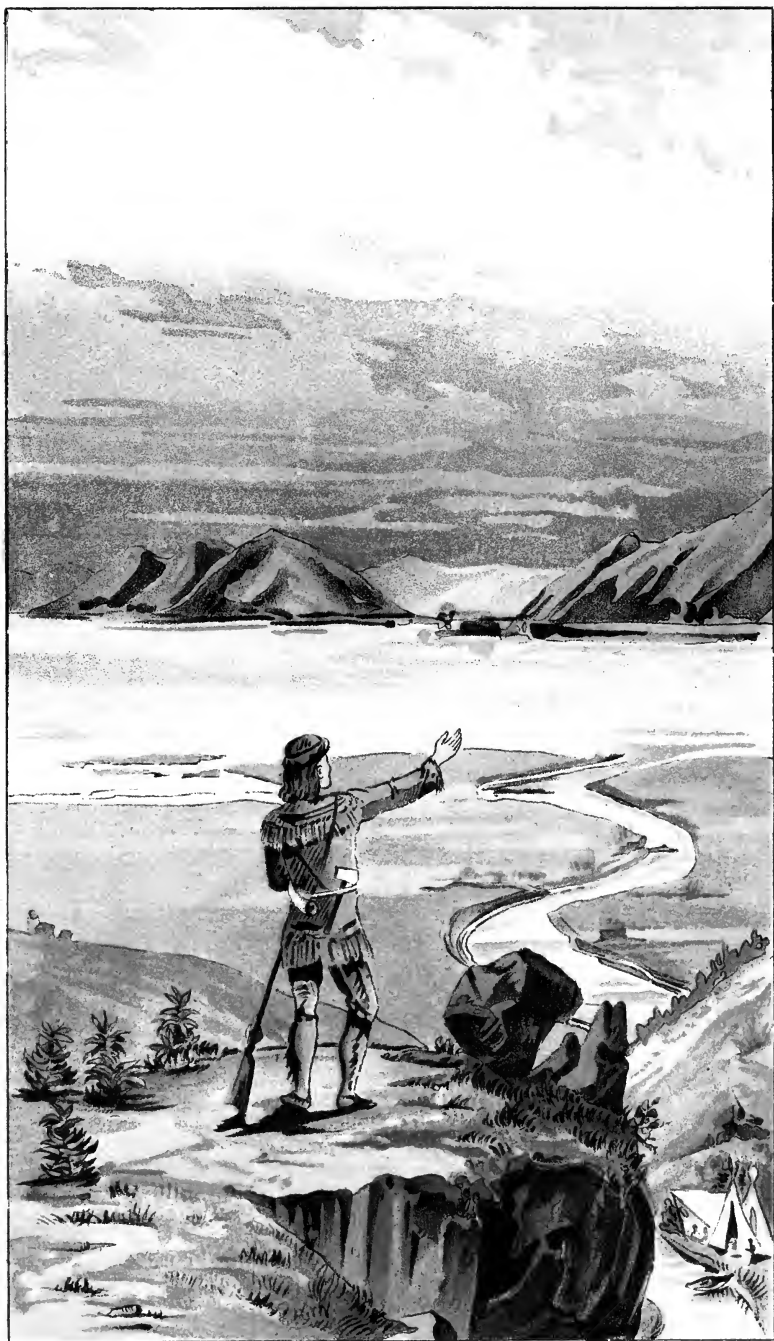




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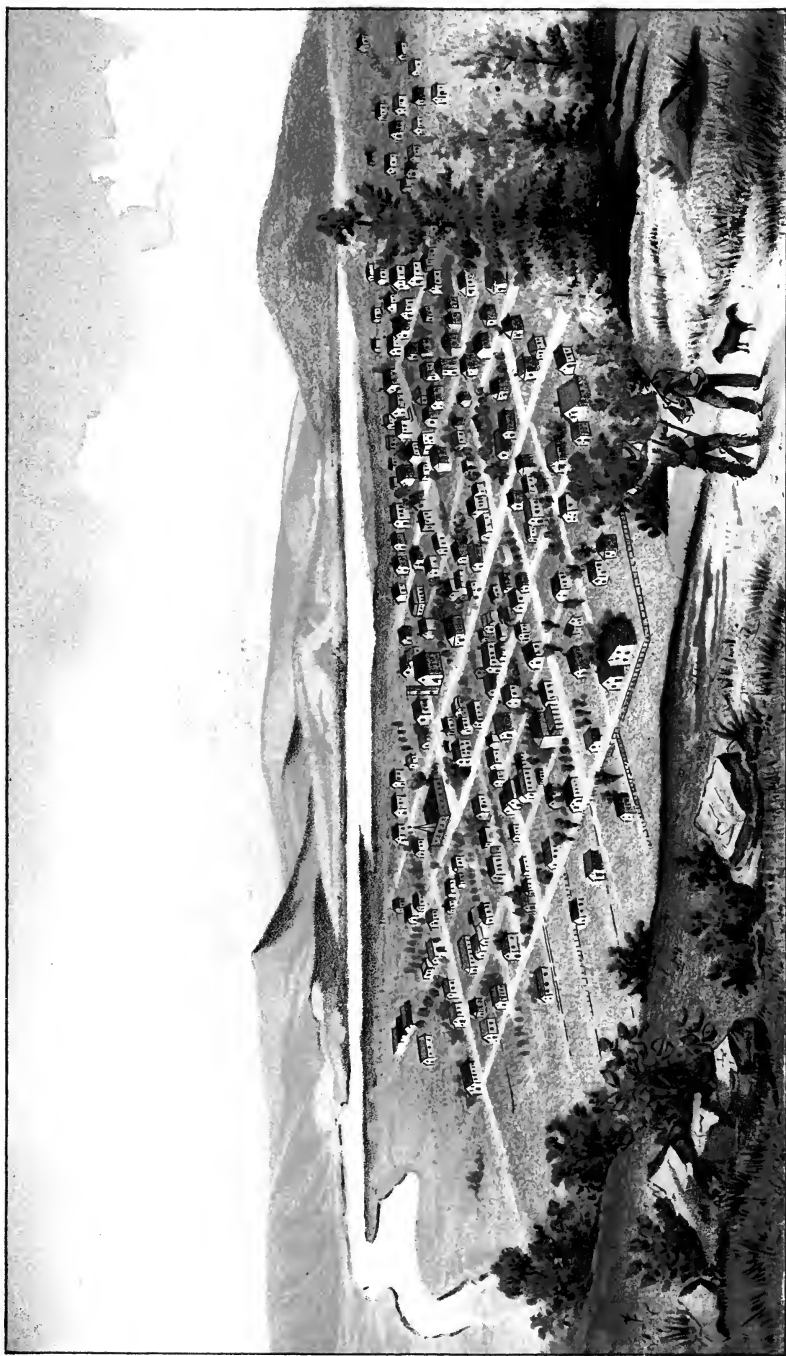
Joseph Smith



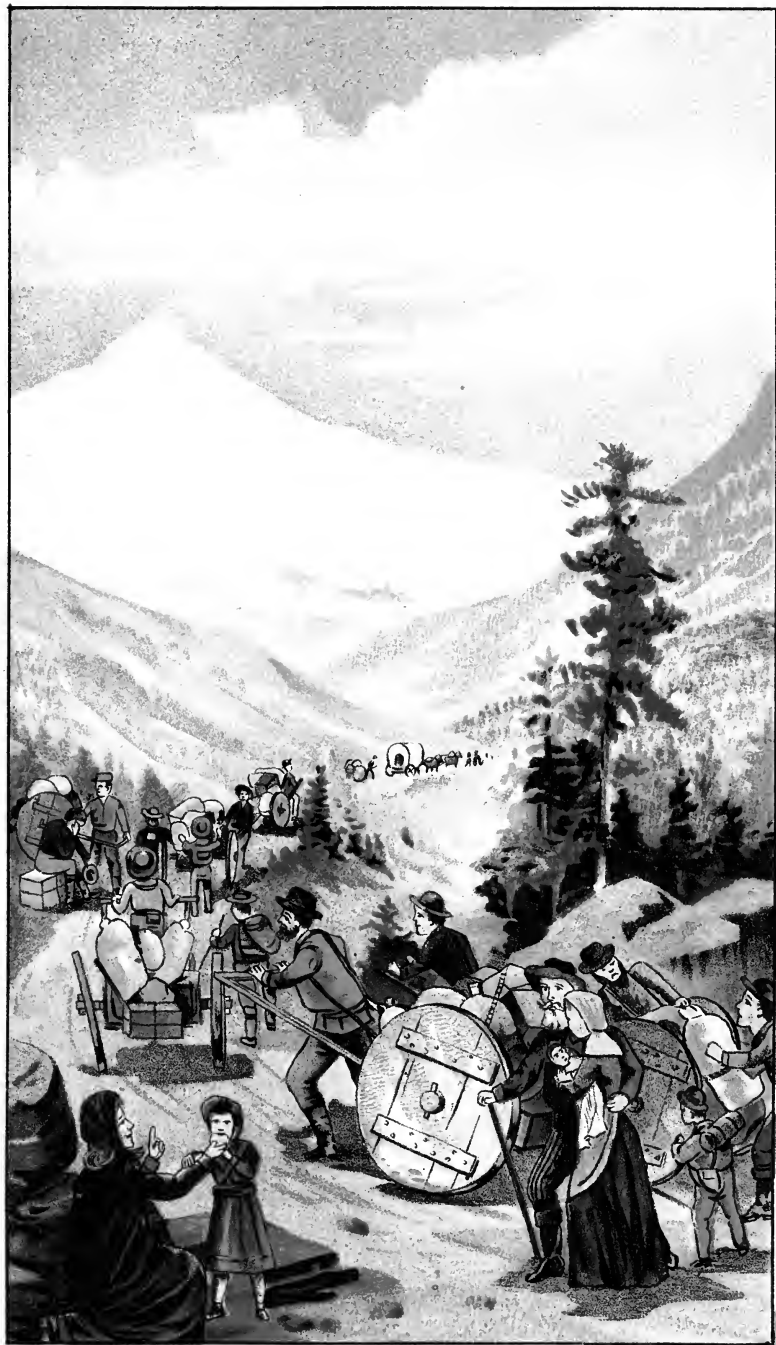


DISCOVERY OF SALT LAKE BY BRIDGER.

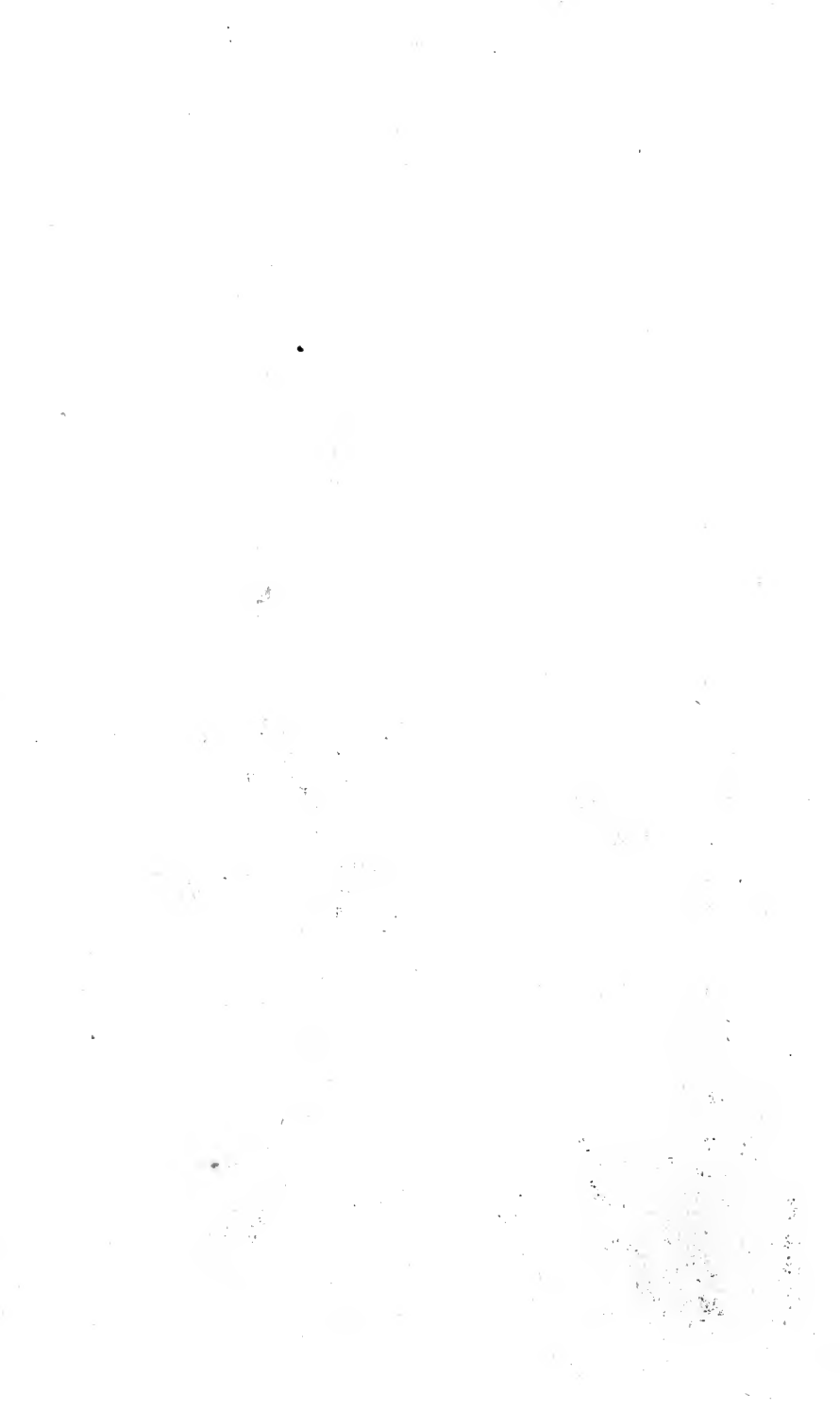


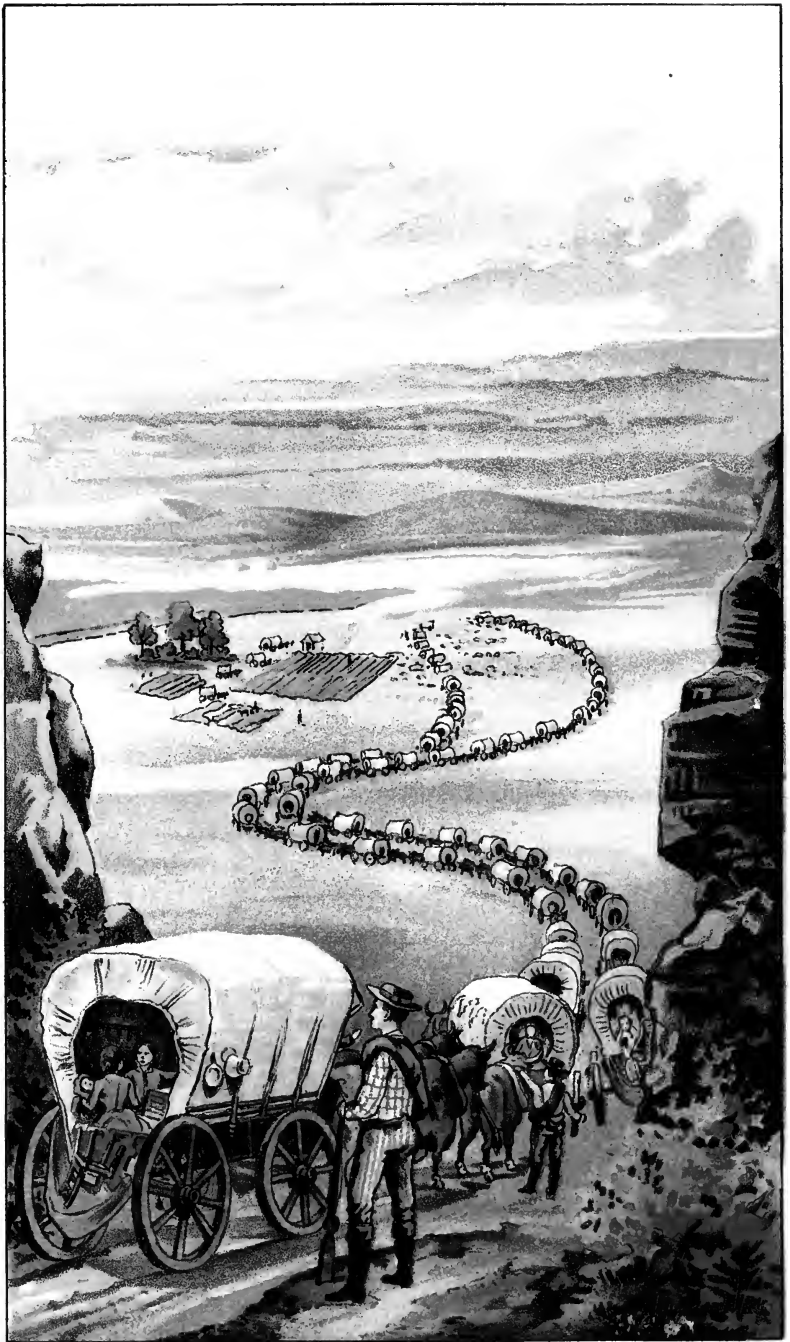


SALT LAKE CITY IN 1850.



HAND CART MIGRATION.

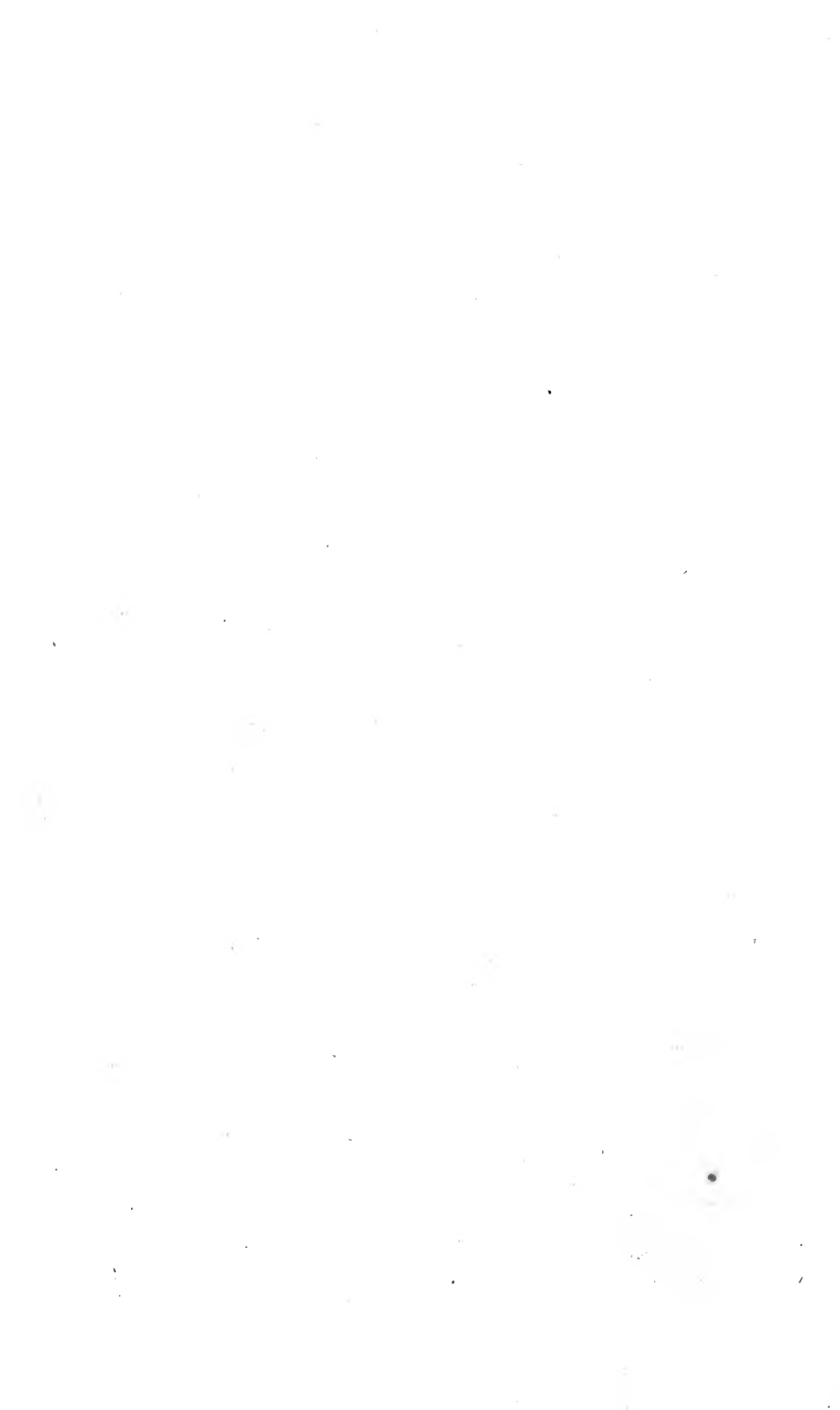


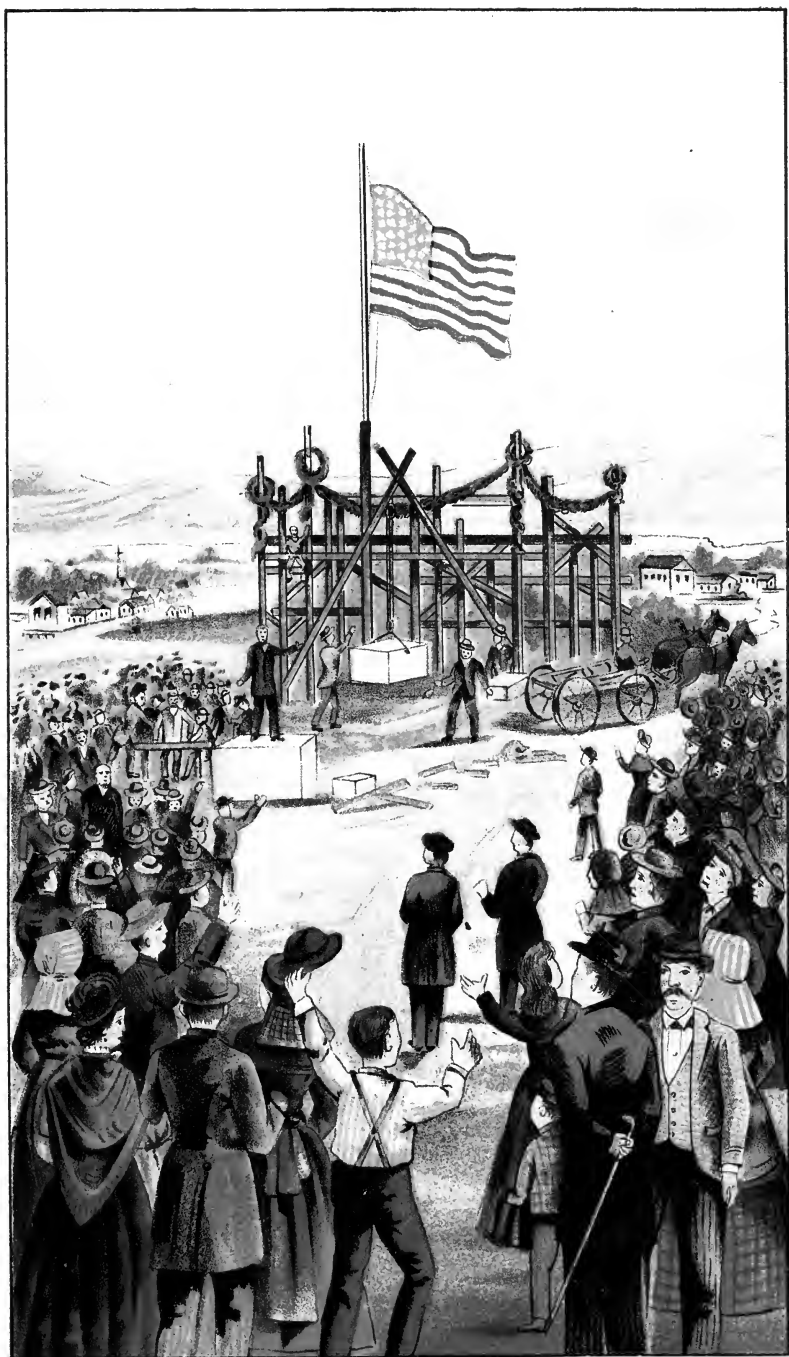


APPROACHING THE NEW ZION.



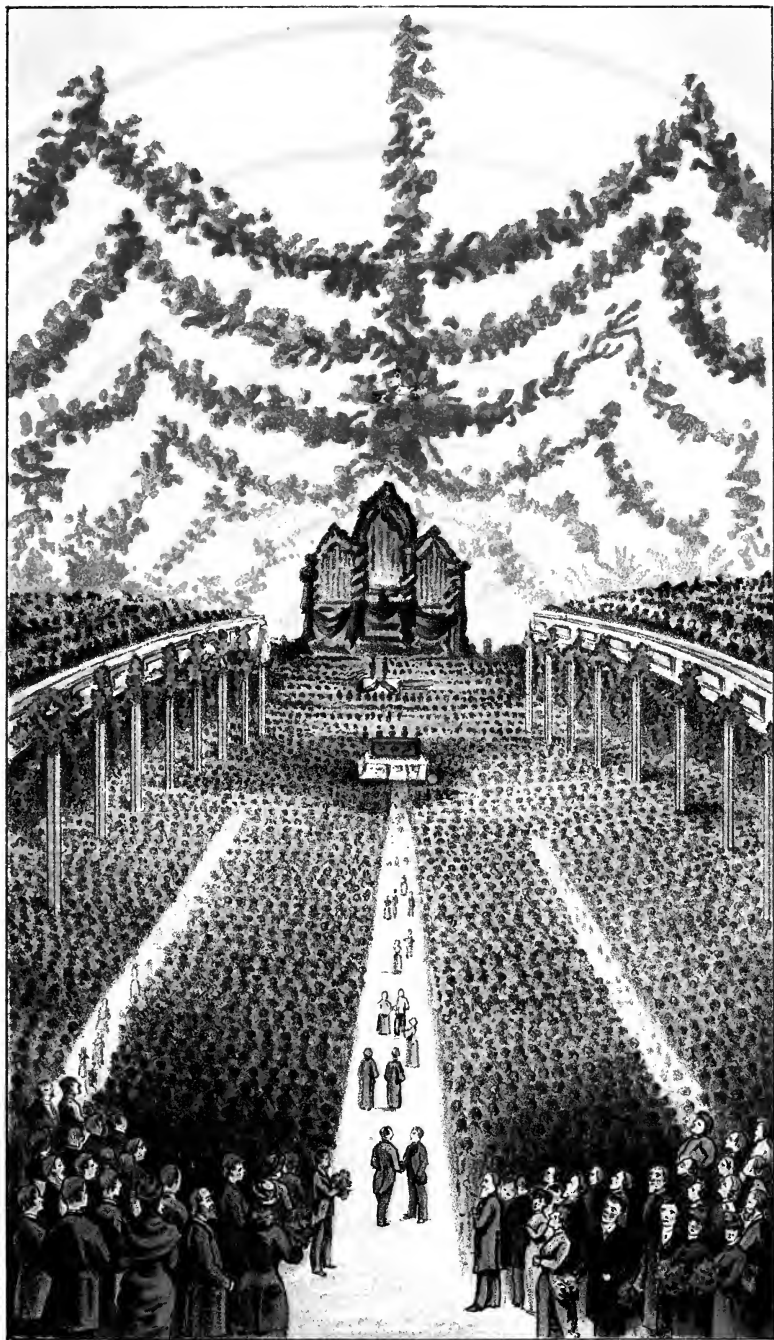
MISSIONARIES RECEIVED BY THE CHIEF OF THE DELAWARES.





LAYING THE CORNER STONE.





THE FUNERAL SERVICES OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

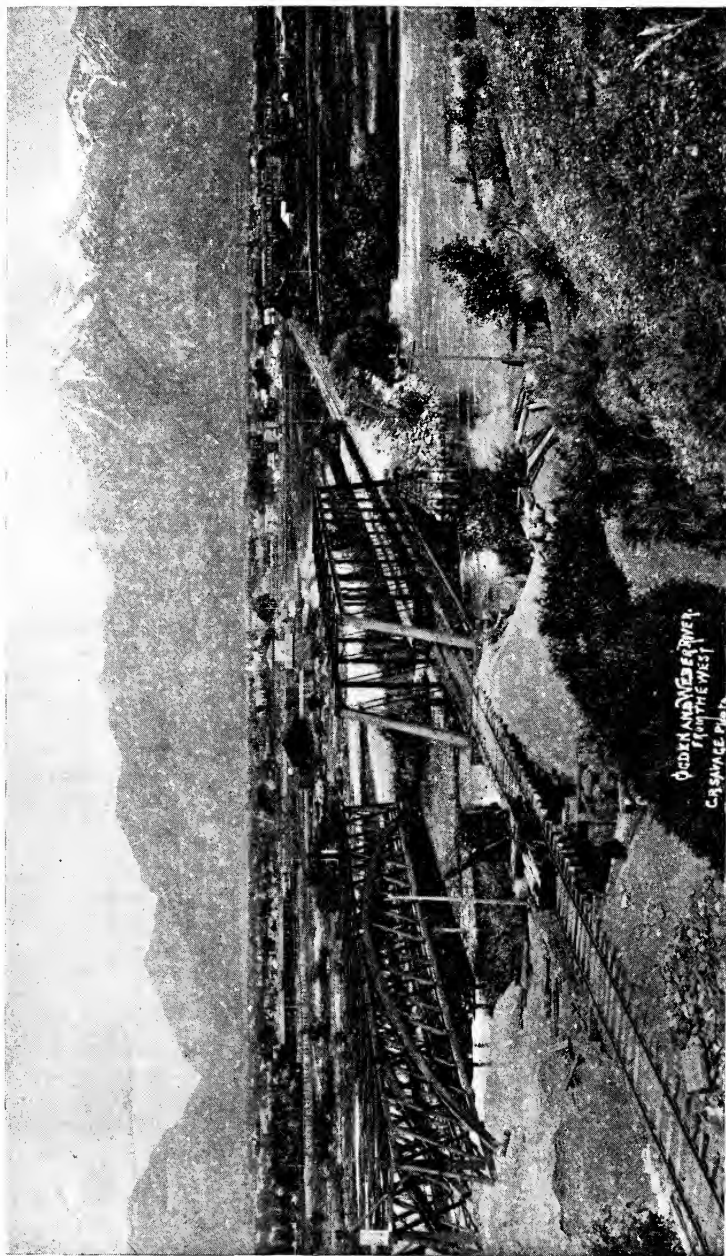




TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY.

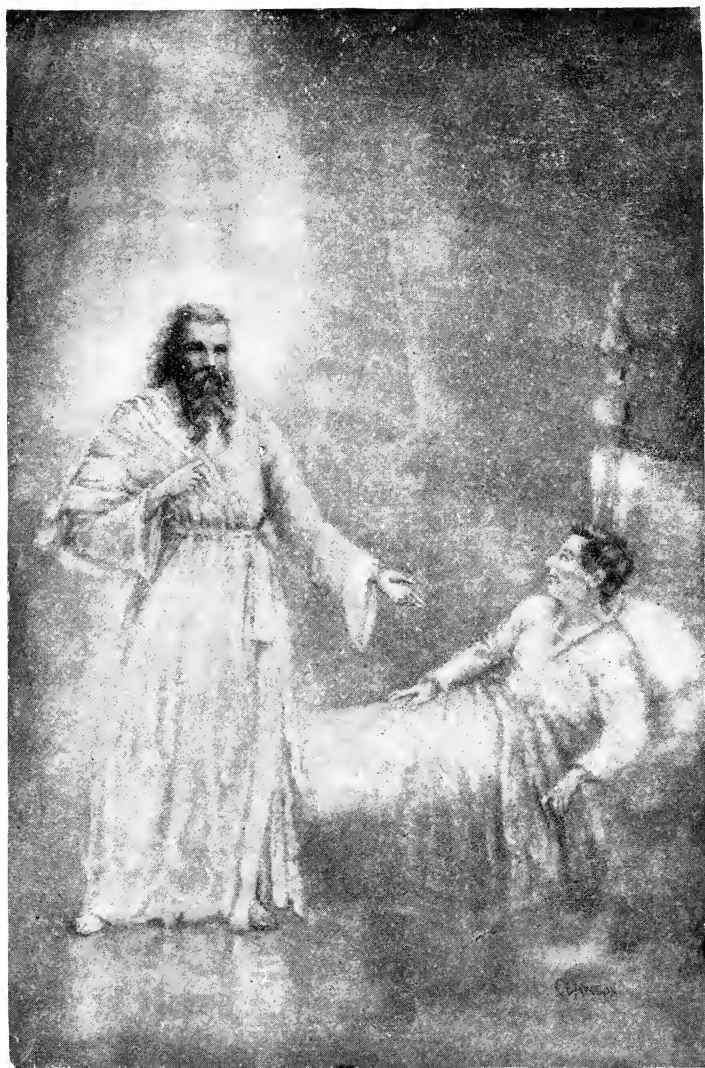


SALT LAKE CITY, FROM ARSENAL HILL.



OGDEN AND WEBER RIVER.





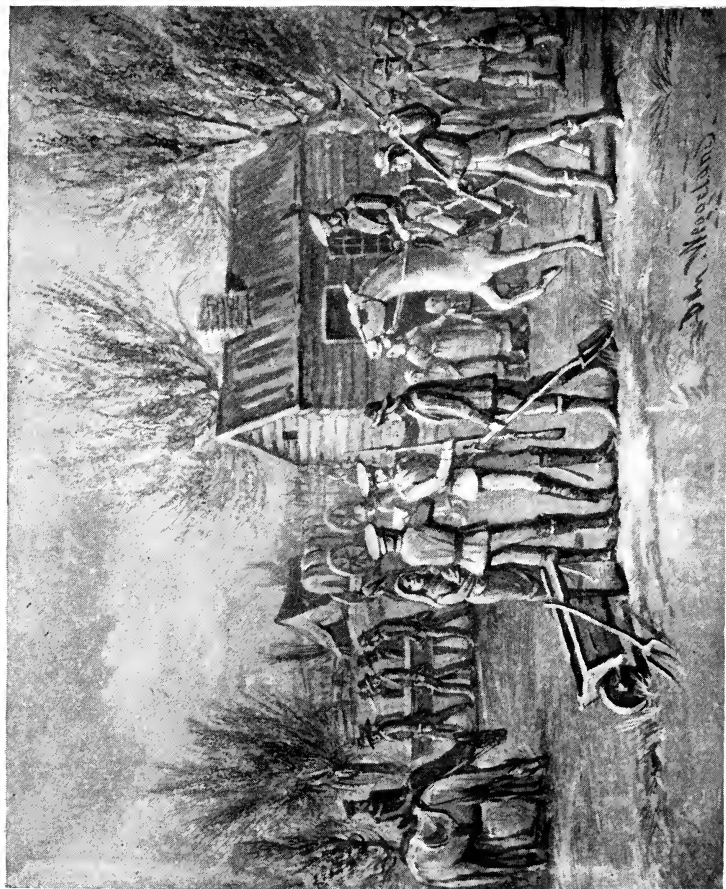
JOSEPH'S VISION.



ASSASSINATION OF JOSEPH SMITH.

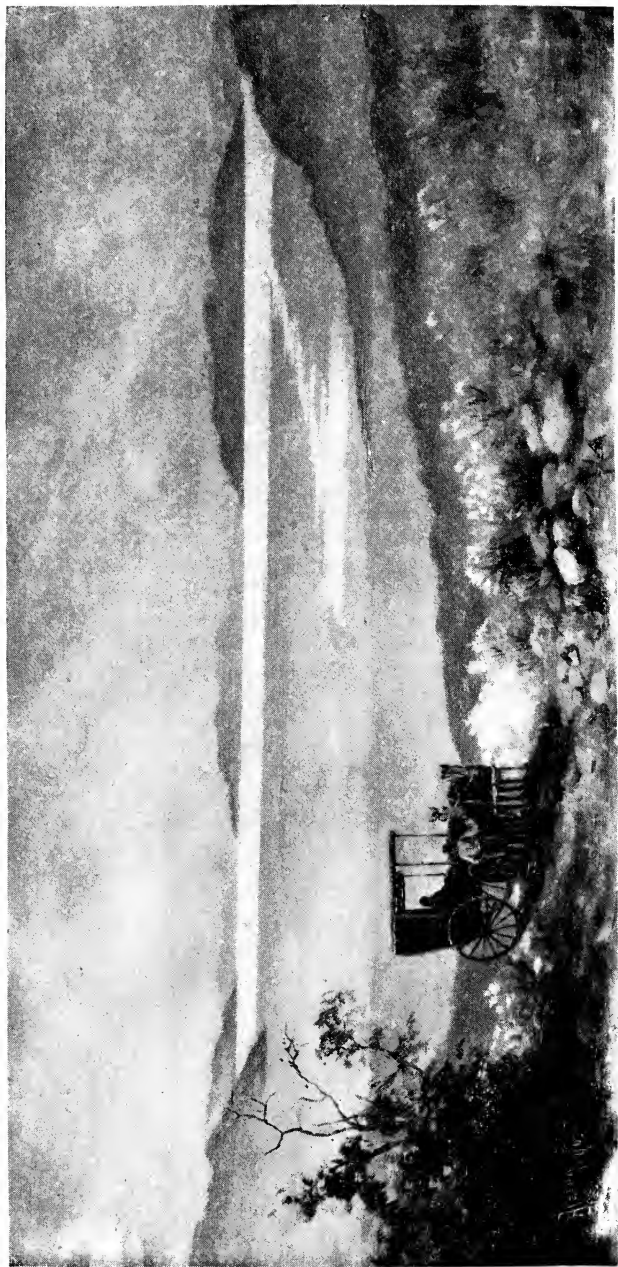


MIGRATION FROM NAUVOO.

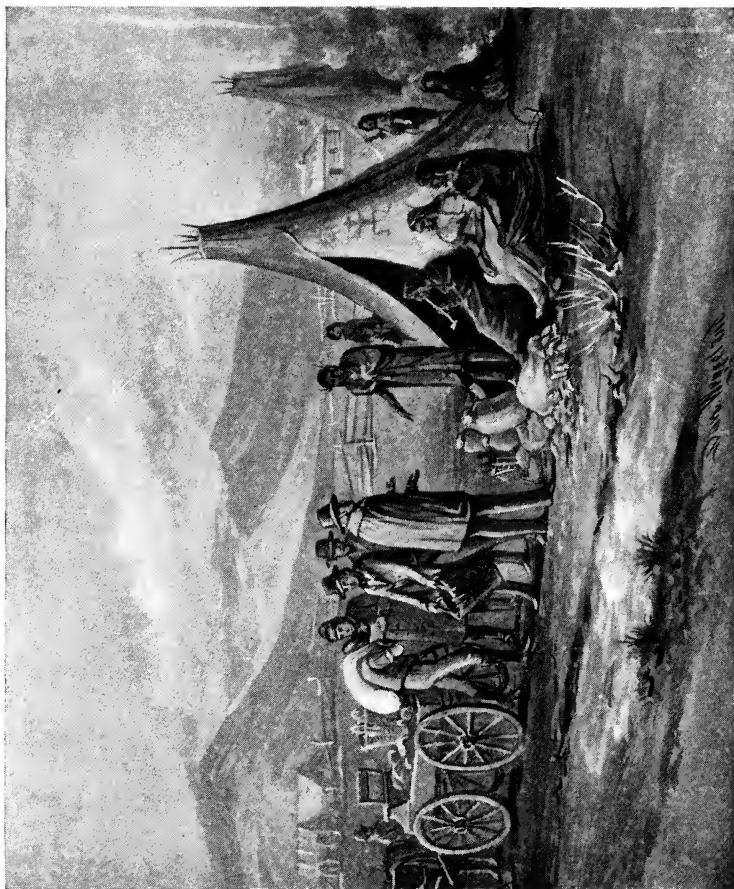


ENROLLMENT OF THE MORMON BATTALION.





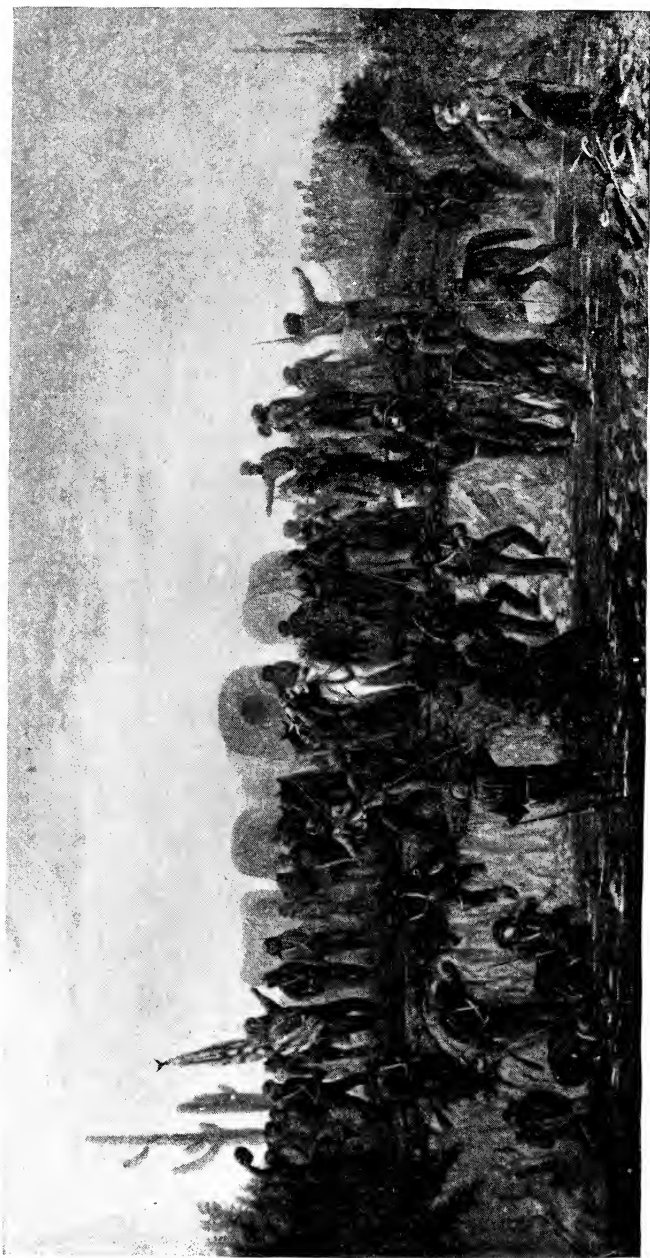
BRIGHAM YOUNG'S FIRST VIEW OF SALT LAKE VALLEY.



INTERCOURSE WITH MORMONS AND INDIANS.



GREAT SALT LAKE.



JOHNSTON'S ARMY IN UTAH.

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HISTORY OF UTAH.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS.

1540-1777.

FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ DE CORONADO AT CÍBOLA—EXPEDITION OF PEDRO DE TOBAR AND FATHER JUAN DE PADILLA—THEY HEAR OF A LARGE RIVER—GARCÍA LOPEZ DE CÁRDENAS SENT IN SEARCH OF IT—THE FIRST EUROPEANS TO APPROACH UTAH—ROUTE OF CÁRDENAS—MYTHICAL MAPS—PART OF THE NORTHERN MYSTERY—JOURNEY OF DOMINGUEZ AND ESCALANTE—THE COURSE THEY FOLLOWED—THE RIVERS THEY CROSSED—THE COMANCHES—REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES—RIVERS TIMPANOGOS, SAN BUENAVENTURA, AND OTHERS—THE COUNTRY OF THE YUTAS—ROUTE FROM SANTA FÉ TO MONTEREY—THE FRIARS TALK OF THE LAKE COUNTRY—RETURN OF THE SPANIARDS TO ZUÑI AND MARCH TO SANTA FÉ.

As Francisco Vazquez de Coronado was journeying from Culiacan to the north and east in 1540, he rested at Cíbola, that is to say Zuñi, and while waiting for the main army to come forward, expeditions were sent out in various directions. One of these, consisting of twenty men under Pedro de Tobar, and attended by Father Juan de Padilla, proceeded north-westward, and after five days reached Tusayan, or the Moqui villages, which were quickly captured. Among other matters of interest, information was here given of a large river yet farther north, the people who lived upon its banks being likewise very large.

Returning to Cíbola, Tobar reported what had been said concerning this river; whereupon Captain García Lopez de Cárdenas was sent with twelve men to explore it, Pedro de Sotomayor accompanying to

chronicle the expedition. Obtaining at Tusayan, where he was well received, guides and carriers, with an ample supply of provisions, Cárdenas marched for twenty days, probably in a north-westerly direction,¹

¹ I say probably, though in my own mind there is little doubt. The Spaniards were exploring northward. They had lately traversed the region to their south-west, and instead of wishing to retrace their steps they would be likely to keep up well away from their former track. It is true that one narrative gives the direction as west; but then the same writer places Tusán, or Tusayan, west of Cibola, which if the latter be Zuñi, and the former Moqui, is incorrect. Then, if their direction from the Moqui towns was the same as this writer declares it to have been in travelling to that place, the Spaniards at this time certainly struck the Colorado within the limits of the present Utah. Escalante, *Carta de 23 Oct. 1775*, MS., placed Moqui west of Zuñi, but a little north of west, with the Yutas their neighbor on the north. It is sufficiently plain that Cibola was Zuñi, and Tusayan Moqui, and as a matter of fact the latter is in a north-westerly direction from the former. That they went due west and crossed the Little Colorado without any mention of that stream is not likely; because, first, it is not twenty days distant from the Moquis, and the stream when reached does not answer to their description. It was the great river they wished to find, and a north-west course would be the most direct. Further than this, it is stated plainly that the point at which they discovered the river was much nearer its source than where the Spaniards had previously seen it. Upon the direction then taken hangs the question as to the first Europeans to enter Utah. I deem the matter of sufficient importance to give both the originals and the translations of two of the most complete and reliable narratives of the expedition. The first and fullest we find in the *Relation de Castañeda* of Coronado's expedition, *Ternaux-Compans*, série i. tom. ix. 61-5, which reads as follows:

‘Comme don Pedro de Tobar avait rempli sa mission, il revint sur ses pas et rendit compte au général de ce qu'il avait vu. Celui-ci fit partir sur-le-champ don Garci-Lopez de Cardenas et douze autres personnes pour aller visiter cette rivière; cet officier fut très-bien reçu et parfaitement traité par les indiens de Tusayan, qui lui donnèrent des guides pour continuer sa route. Nos soldats partirent chargés de vivres, les indiens les ayant avertis qu'il fallait traverser un désert de vingt journées de long avant d'entrer dans un pays habité. Après ces vingt journées de marche ils arrivèrent en effet à cette rivière, dont les bords sont tellement élevés qu'ils croyaient être à trois ou quatre lieues en l'air. Le pays est couvert de pins bas et rabougris; il est exposé au nord, et le froid y est si violent, que, quoique l'on fût en été, on pouvait à peine le supporter. Les Espagnols marchèrent pendant trois jours le long de ces montagnes, espérant toujours trouver une descente pour arriver à la rivière qui, d'en haut, ne paraissait pas avoir plus d'une brassée de large, et qui, selon les Indiens, avait plus d'une demi-lieue; mais il fut impossible de s'y rendre. Étant parvenus deux ou trois jours après dans un endroit où la descente leur parut plus facile, le capitaine Melgosa, Juan Galeras et un soldat qui étaient les plus légers de la bande, résolurent de faire une tentative. Ils descendirent jusqu'à ce que ceux qui étaient restés en haut les eussent perdus de vue. Ils revinrent vers les quatre heures du soir, disant qu'ils avaient trouvé tant de difficultés, qu'ils n'avaient pu arriver jusqu'en bas; car ce qui d'en haut semblait facile, ne l'était pas du tout quand on approchait. Ils ajoutèrent qu'ils étaient parvenus à environ un tiers de la descente, et que de là, la rivière paraissait déjà très grande, ce qui confirmait ce que les indiens avaient dit. Ils assurèrent que quelques rochers que l'on voyait d'en haut, et qui paraissait à peine de la hauteur d'un homme étaient plus hauts que la tour de la cathédrale de Séville. Les Espagnols cessèrent

through a desert country until he discovered the river, but from such high banks that he could not reach it. It was the river called the Tizon, and it flowed from the north-east toward the south-west. It seemed to the Spaniards when they first descried it that they were on mountains through which the river had cut

de suivre les rochers qui bordent la rivière, parce qu'on y manquait d'eau. Jusque-là ils avaient été obligés chaque soir de s'avancer une lieue ou deux dans l'intérieur pour en trouver. Quand ils eurent marché pendant trois ou quatre jours, les guides leur déclarèrent qu'il était impossible d'aller plus loin, qu'on ne trouverait pas d'eau de quatre jours; que quand les Indiens passaient cette route, ils emmenaient avec eux des femmes chargées de calesbasses remplies d'eau, et qu'ils en enterraient une partie pour les retrouver au retour; que d'ailleurs ils parcouraient en un jour autant de chemin que les Espagnols en deux. Cette rivière était celle del Tizon. On arriva beaucoup plus près de sa source que de l'endroit où Melchior Diaz et ses gens l'avaient traversée, et l'on sut plus tard que les Indiens dont on avait parlé étaient de la même nation que ceux que Diaz avait vus. Les Espagnols revinrent donc sur leurs pas, et cette expédition n'eut pas d'autre résultat. Pendant la marche, ils arrivèrent à une cascade qui tombait d'un rocher. Les guides dirent que les cristaux blancs qui pendaient à l'entour étaient du sel. On en recueillit une quantité que l'on emporta, et qu'on distribua à Cibola, où l'on rendit compte par écrit au général de tout ce que l'on avait vu. Garci-Lopez avait emmené avec lui un certain Pédro de Sotomayor, qui était chroniqueur de l'expédition. Tous les villages de cette province sont restés nos alliés, mais on ne les a pas visités depuis, et l'on n'a tenté aucune découverte de ce côté.'

As soon as Don Pédro de Tobar had fulfilled his mission, he returned and gave the general an account of what he had seen. The latter immediately ordered Don Garci-Lopez de Cárdenas, and 12 other persons, to go and visit that river; this officer was well received and politely treated by the Indians of Tusayan, who furnished him with guides to continue his journey. Our soldiers departed loaded with provisions, the Indians having notified them that it was necessary to travel 20 days through a desert before entering any inhabited country. After this 20 days' march, they arrived at that river whose banks are of such a height that it seemed to them that they were three or four leagues up in the air. The country is covered with low and stunted pines, exposed to the north, and the cold is so violent that, although it was summer, one could hardly endure it. The Spaniards during three days skirted those mountains, always in the hope of finding a descent to reach the river, which from above appeared to be no more than a fathom in width, and which, according to the Indians, was more than half a league wide; but all their efforts were vain. Two or three days later, they arrived at a place where the descent seemed easier; Captain Melgosa Juan Galeras and a soldier who were the lightest men of the band, resolved to make an attempt. They descended until those who had remained on the top had lost sight of them. They returned at about four o'clock in the afternoon, saying they had found so many difficulties that they could not reach the bottom; for, what seemed easy from above was not at all so when approaching the water. They added that they came down about one third of the descent, and that even from there the river seemed very large. This statement confirmed what the Indians had said. The three men affirmed that some rocks seen from above and which appeared to be of the height of a man, were higher than the tower of the cathedral of Seville. The Spaniards stopped following the rocks that bordered the river on account of the lack of water. Until then, they had been obliged to advance one or two leagues in the interior to find

a chasm only a few feet wide, but which if they might believe the natives was half a league across. In vain for several days, with their faces toward the south and west, they sought to escape from the mountains that environed them, and descend to the river, for they were suffering from thirst. At length

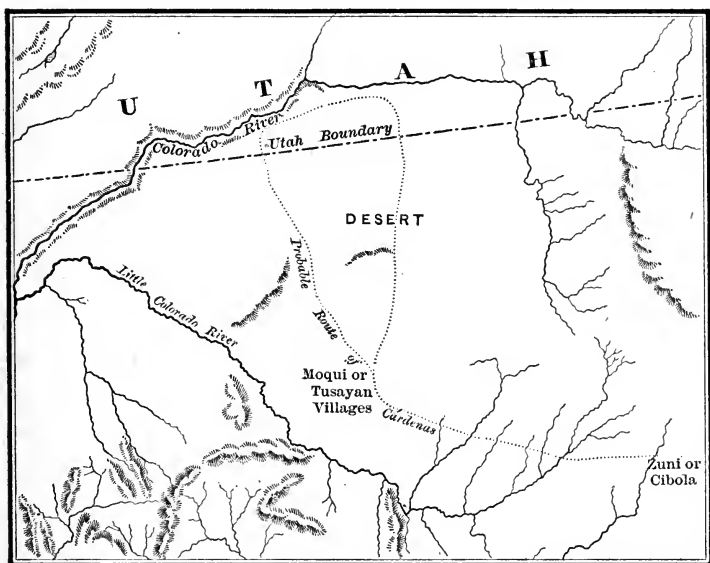
some. When they had marched during three or four days, the guides declared to them that it was impossible to go further, that water would not be found before four days; that when the Indians travelled on this road, they took with them women who carried calabashes filled with water, and they buried a certain part, so that they might find it when returning; and besides they made in one day as many miles as the Spaniards would in two. This was the river del Tizon. They arrived much nearer to its source than the place where Melchor Diaz and his people had crossed, and it was known later that the Indians spoken of belonged to the same nation as those seen by Diaz. The Spaniards therefore came back, and the expedition had no other result. While marching, they arrived at a cascade falling from a rock. The guides affirmed that the white crystals hanging around were salt. A quantity of it was gathered, carried away, and distributed at Cibola, where a written account of all that had been seen was sent to the general. Garcí-Lopez had taken with him a certain Pedro de Sotomayor, who was the chronicler of the expedition. All the villages of this province have remained our allies, but they have not been visited since, and no attempt at discovery has been made in that direction.

The other is from a relation by an unknown author, found in the archives of the Indies, and printed in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 321-3, under title of *Relacion del suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vázquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola*, and from which I give the extract covering the same incident:

‘Vuelto D. Pedro de Tobar, é dada relacion de aquellos pueblos, luego despachó á D. García Lopez de Cárdenas, maestre de campo, por el mesmo camino que habia venido D. Pedro, é que pasase de aquella provincia de Tuzan, al Poniente, é para ida é vuelta de la jornada é descubrimiento, le señaló ochenta dias de término de ida é vuelta, el qual fué echado adelante de Tuzan con guias de los naturales que decian que habia adelante, poblado, aunque lejos, andadas cincuenta leguas de Tuzan al Poniente, é ochenta de Cibola, halló una barranca de un rio que fué imposible por una parte ni otra hallarle baxada para caballo, ni aun para pié, sino por una parte muy trabaxosa, por donde tenia casi dos leguas de baxada. Estaba la barranca tan acantillada de peñas, que apenas podian ver el rio, el cual, aunque es segun dicen, tanto ó mucho mayor que el de Sevilla, de arriba aparecía un arroyo; por manera que aunque con harta diligencia se buscó pasada, é por muchas partes no se halla, en la cual estuvieron artos dias con mucha necesidad de agua, que no la hallaban, é la del rio no se podian aprovechar della aunque la vian; é á esta causa le fué forzado á don García Lopez volverse á donde hallaron; este rio venia del Nordeste é volvía al Sur Sudeste, por manera que sin falta ninguna es aquel donde llegó Melchor Diaz.’

Don Pedro de Tobar having returned, and having made a report concerning those towns, D. García Lopez de Cárdenas, maestre de campo, was ordered to take the same route by which Don Pedro had come, and to go on from the province of Tuzan to the westward. He was given 80 days in which to make the journey, from his departure until his return. He went on beyond Tuzan, accompanied by Indian guides, who told him that farther on there was a settlement. Having gone 50 leagues to the westward of Tuzan, and 80 from Cibola, he came to the cañon of a river adown the side of which there was no descent practicable for horse, nor even for those on foot, except

one morning three of the lightest and most active of the party crept over the brink and descended until they were out of sight. They did not return till toward evening, when they reported their failure to reach the bottom, saying that the river, and distances and objects, were all much larger than they seemed to the beholder above, rocks apparently no higher than a man being in fact larger than the cathedral at



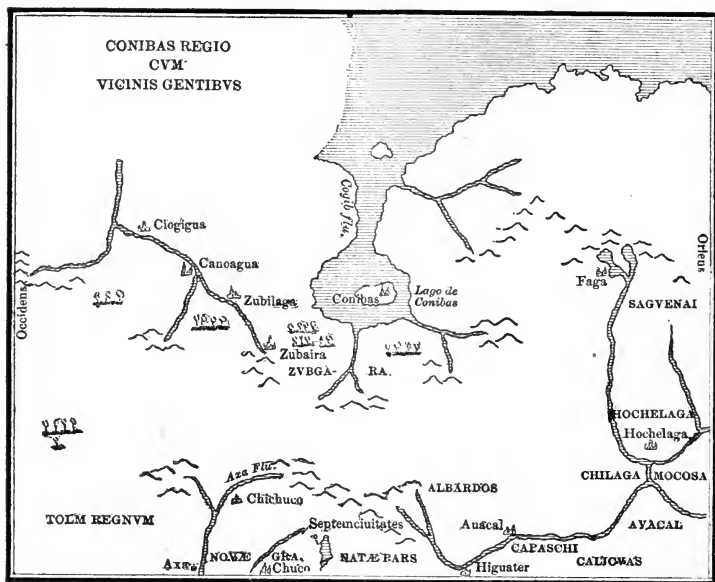
PROBABLE ROUTE OF CÁRDENAS.

Seville. Compelled by thirst they retired from the inhospitable stream, and finally returned to Tusayan and Cibola.

by a way full of difficulties, and nearly two leagues in length. The side of the cañon was of rock so steep that the river was barely discernible, although, according to report, it is as great as the river of Seville, or greater; and from above appeared a brook. During many days, and in many places, a way by which to pass the river was sought in vain. During this time there was much suffering from a lack of water, for although that of the river was in view, it was unattainable. For this reason Don García Lopez was forced to return. This river comes from the north-east, and makes a bend to the south-south-eastward; hence, beyond a doubt, it must be that reached by Melchor Diaz.

Thus the reader will be able to determine the matter for himself as clearly as may be. For details on Coronado's expedition see the following author-

It was not necessary in those days that a country should be discovered in order to be mapped; even now we dogmatize most about what we know least. It is a lonely sea indeed that cannot sport mermaids and monsters; it were a pity to have so broad an extent of land without a good wide sheet of water in it; so the *Conibas Regio cum Vicinis Gentibus* shows a large lake, called Conibas, connecting by a very wide

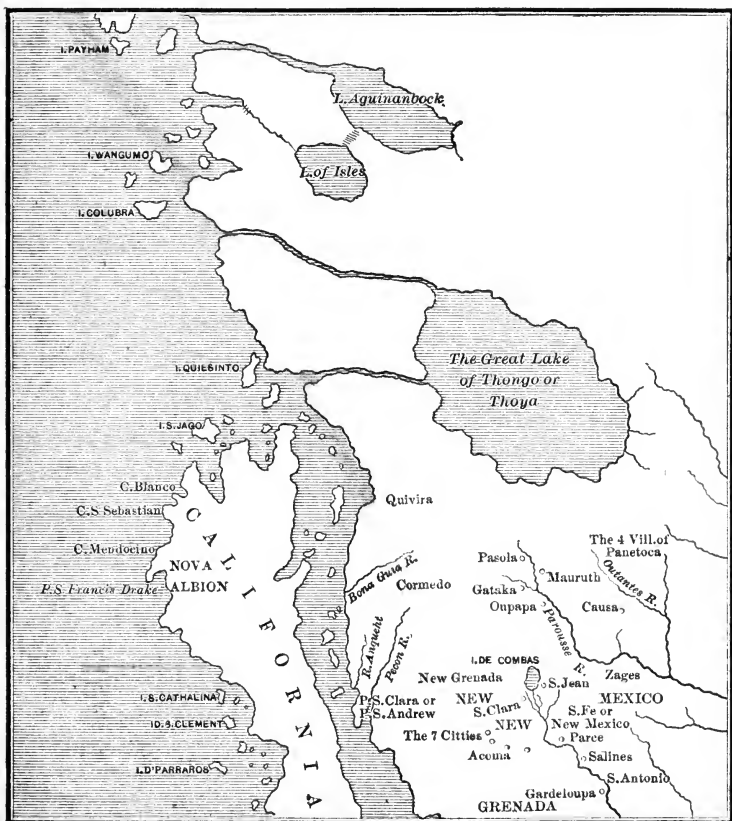


MAP FROM MAGIN, 1611.

river apparently with a northern sea. I give herewith another map showing a lake large enough to swallow

ities, though comparatively few of them make mention of the adventures of Captain Cárdenas on the Colorado: *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 359-63; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 373-9; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, iii. 14, 158-69; *Torquemada*, i. 609-10; *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xi.-xii.; *Beaumont, Hist. Mex.*, i. 233-8; *Salmeron*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser. pt. iv. 7-9; *Noticias*, in *Id.*, 671-2; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 127-9; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. Mex.*, 325. These might be followed by a long list of modern writers, for which I will refer the reader to *Hist. North Mexican States*, this series.

Utah and Idaho combined, and discharging its waters by two great rivers into the Pacific. This species of geography was doubtless entirely satisfactory to the wise men of this world until they came to know better about it. If the reader will look over the chapters on the Northern Mystery in my *History of the*

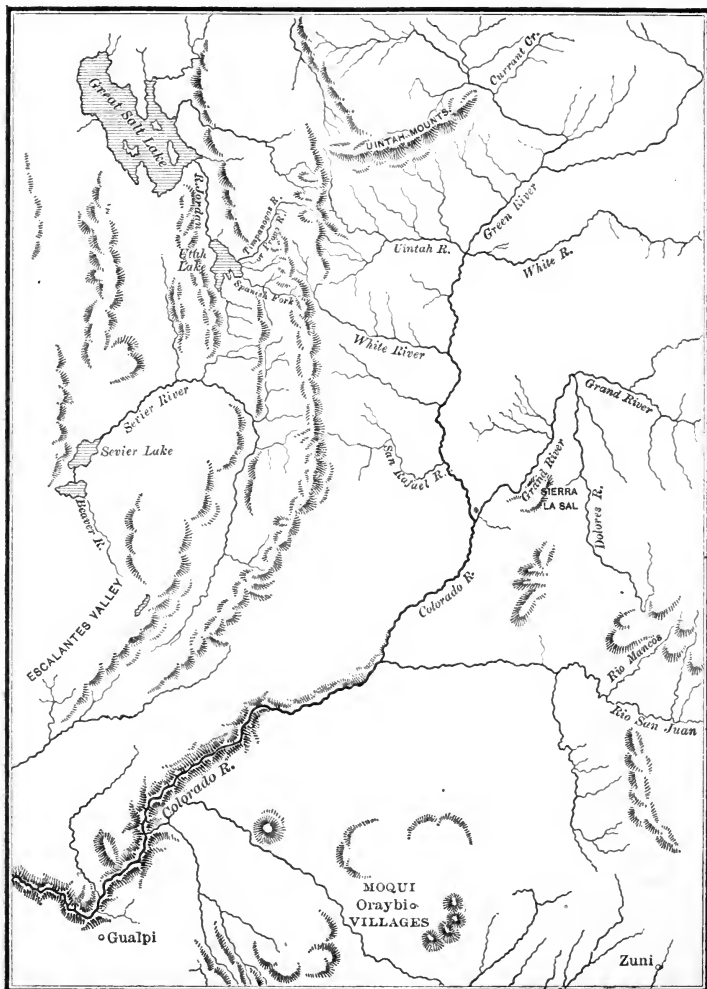


MAP BY JOHN HARRIS, 1705.

Northwest Coast he may learn further of absurdities in map-making.

A more extended and pronounced exploration was that of two Franciscan friars, one the *visitador comi-*

Then the Spaniards talk of the country, and of the people about them. They are in the valley and by the lake of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Tim-



TIMPANOGOS VALLEY.

ellos. Estas cuatro figuras de hombres estaban rudamente pintadas con tierra y almagre en un corto pedazo de gamuza.' *Diario, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 462-3.

CHAPTER II.

ADVENT OF TRAPPERS AND TRAVELLERS.

1778-1846.

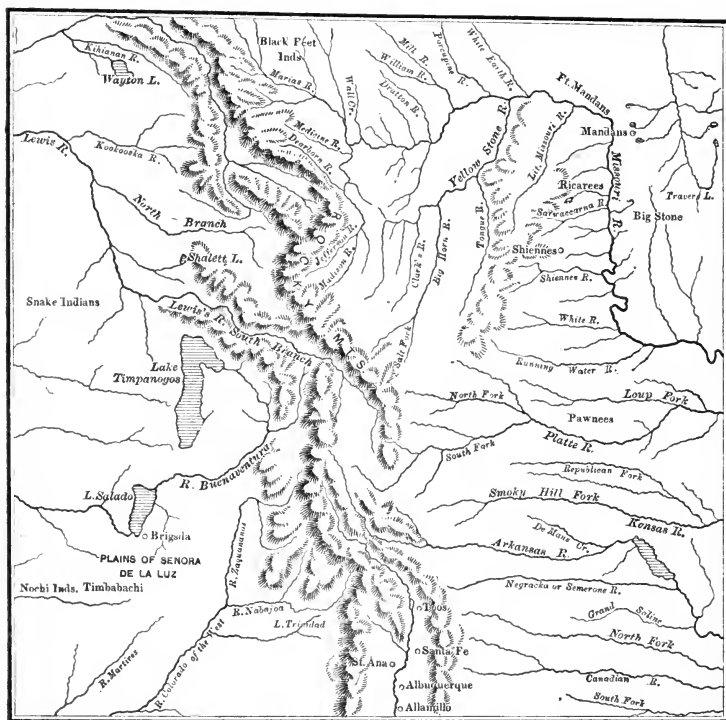
INVASION BY FUR HUNTERS—BARON LA HONTAN AND HIS FABLES—THE POPULAR GEOGRAPHIC IDEA—DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE—JAMES BRIDGER DECIDING A BET—HE DETERMINES THE COURSE OF BEAR RIVER AND COMES UPON THE GREAT LAKE—HENRY, ASHLEY, GREEN, AND BECKWORTH ON THE GROUND—FORT BUILT AT UTAH LAKE—PETER SKEEN OGDEN—JOURNEY OF JEDEDIAH S. SMITH—A STRANGE COUNTRY—PEGLEG SMITH—WOLFSKILL, YOUNT, AND BURTON TRAVERSE THE COUNTRY—WALKER'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA—SOME OLD MAPS—THE BARTLESON COMPANY—STATEMENTS OF BIDWELL AND BELDEN COMPARED—WHITMAN AND LOVEJOY—FRÉMONT—PACIFIC COAST IMMIGRATIONS OF 1845 AND 1846—ORIGIN OF THE NAME UTAH.

HALF a century passes, and we find United States fur hunters standing on the border of the Great Salt Lake, tasting its brackish waters, and wondering if it is an arm of the sea.¹

¹ There are those who soberly refer to the Baron la Hontan and his prodigious falsehoods of 1689 for the first information of Great Salt Lake. Because among the many fabulous wonders reported he somewhere on the western side of the continent placed a body of bad-tasting water, Stansbury, *Exped.*, 151, does not hesitate to affirm 'that the existence of a large lake of salt water somewhere amid the wilds west of the Rocky Mountains seems to have been known vaguely as long as 150 years since.' Perhaps it was salt, and not silver that the Winnebagoes reported to Carver, *Travels*, 33-6, as coming down in caravans from 'the mountains lying near the heads of the Colorado River.' Warren, in *Pacific Railroad Report*, xi. 34, repeats and refutes the La Hontan myth. He says, 'the story of La Hontan excited much speculation, and received various additions in his day; and the lake finally became represented on the published English maps.' Long before this date, however, reliable information had been received by the Spaniards, and the same may have come to English trappers; so that by 1826 reports of the existence of such a sheet may have reached civilization. It is needless to say that neither La Hontan nor Carver ever received information from the natives, or elsewhere, sufficient to justify map-makers in placing a large lake in that vicinity. In Gordon's *Historical and Geographical Memoir of the North American Continent*, published in Dublin in 1820, it is written: 'Concerning the lakes and rivers of this as yet imperfectly explored region we have little to say. Of the former

First among these, confining ourselves to authentic records, was James Bridger, to whom belongs the honor of discovery. It happened in this wise. During the winter of 1824-5 a party of trappers, who had ascended the Missouri with Henry and Ashley, found

we have no certain account. Two have been noticed in the western parts, a salt lake about the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, the western limits of which are unknown, and the lake of Timpanogos, about the forty-first degree, of great but unascertained extent.'



MAP OF UTAH, 1826.

In a report submitted to congress May 15, 1826, by Mr Baylies it is stated that 'many geographies have placed the Lake Timpanogos in latitude 40, but they have obviously confounded it with the Lake Theguayo, which extends from 39° 40' to 41°, and from which it appears separated by a neck or peninsula; the two lakes approaching in one direction as near as 20 miles.' *19th Cong., 1st Sess., House Rept. No. 213.* Such statements as this amount to nothing—the honorable gentleman, with all due respect, not knowing what he was writing about—except as going to show the vague and imperfect impression of the popular mind concerning this region at that time.

I will give for what it is worth a claim, set up in this same congress-

themselves on Bear River, in Cache, or Willow Valley. A discussion arose as to the probable course of Bear River, which flowed on both sides of them. A wager was made, and Bridger sent to ascertain the truth. Following the river through the mountains the first view of the great lake fell upon him, and when he went to the margin and tasted the water he found that it was salt. Then he returned and reported to his companions. All were interested to know if there emptied into this sheet other streams on which they might find beavers, and if there was an outlet; hence in the spring of 1826 four men explored the lake in skin boats.²

During this memorable year of 1825, when Peter

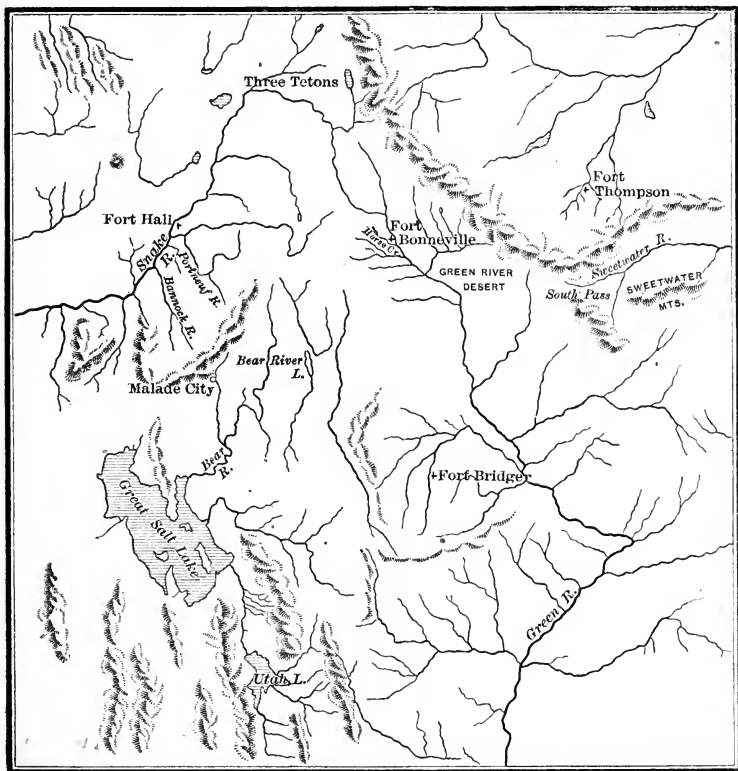
sional report, by one Samuel Adams Ruddock, that in the year 1821 he journeyed from Council Bluff to Santa Fé, and thence with a trading party proceeded by way of Great Salt Lake to Oregon. The report says: 'On the 9th of June this party crossed the Rio del Norte, and pursuing a north-west direction on the north bank of the river Chamas, and over the mountains, reached Lake Trinidad; and then pursuing the same direction across the upper branches of the Rio Colorado of California, reached Lake Timpanagos, which is intersected by the 42d parallel of latitude, the boundary between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico. This lake is the principal source of the river Timpanagos, and the Multnomah of Lewis and Clarke. They then followed the course of this river to its junction with the Columbia, and reached the mouth of the Columbia on the first day of August, completing the journey from the Council Bluffs in seventy-nine days.'

²This, upon the testimony of Robert Campbell, *Pac. R. Rept.*, xi. 35, who was there at the time 'and found the party just returned from the exploration of the lake, and recollect their report that it was without any outlet.' Bridger's story of his discovery was corroborated by Samuel Tullock in Campbell's counting-room in St Louis at a later date. Campbell pronounces them both 'men of the strictest integrity and truthfulness.' Likewise Ogden's trappers met Bridger's party in the summer of 1825 and were told of the discovery. See *Hist. Nevada*, this series. Irving, *Bonneville's Adv.*, 186, says it was probably Sublette who sent out the four men in the skin canoe in 1826. Bonneville professes to doubt this exploration because the men reported that they suffered severely from thirst, when in fact several fine streams flow into the lake; but Bonneville desired to attach to his name the honor of an early survey, and detract from those entitled to it. The trappers in their canoes did not pretend to make a thorough survey, and as for scarcity of fresh water in places Stansbury says, *Exped.*, 103, that during his explorations he frequently was obliged to send fifty miles for water. Other claimants appear prior to Bridger's discovery. W. M. Anderson writing to the *National Intelligencer* under date of Feb. 26, 1860, says that Provost trapped in this vicinity in 1820, and that Ashley was there before Bridger. Then it was said by Seth Grant that his partner, Vazquez, discovered the great inland sea, calling it an arm of the ocean because the water was salt. That no white man ever saw the Great Salt Lake before Bridger cannot be proven; but his being the only well authenticated account, history must rest there until it finds a better one.

Skeen Ogden with his party of Hudson's Bay Company trappers was on Humboldt River, and James P. Beckwourth was pursuing his daring adventures, and the region round the great lakes of Utah first became familiar to American trappers, William H. Ashley, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, at the head of one hundred and twenty men and a train of well packed horses, came out from St Louis, through the South Pass and down by Great Salt Lake to Lake Utah. There he built a fort, and two years later brought from St Louis a six-pounder which thereafter graced its court. Ashley was a brave man, shrewd and honest; he was prosperous and commanded the respect of his men. Nor may we impute to him lack of intelligence, or of common geographical knowledge, when we find him seriously considering the project of descending the Colorado in boats, by means of which he would eventually reach St Louis. Mr Green, who gave his name to Green River, had been with Ashley the previous year; and now for three years after the establishing of Fort Ashley at Utah Lake, Green with his trappers occupied the country to the west and north.³

³ See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, ii. 447-8, this series. T. D. Bonner in his *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, 71-3, gives what purports to be an account of Ashley's descent of Green River to Great Salt Lake on a certain occasion in Ashley's own language. There may be some truth in it all, though Beckwourth is far astray in his dates, as he places the occurrence in 1822. Beckwourth goes on to say that one day in June a beautiful Indian girl offered him a pair of moccasins if he would shoot for her an antelope and bring her the brains, that with them she might dress a deer-skin. Beckwourth started out, but failing to secure an antelope, and seeing as he supposed an Indian coming, he thought he would shoot the Indian and take his brains to the girl, who would not know the difference. Just as he was about to fire he discovered the supposed Indian to be Ashley, who thereupon told him of his adventures down Green River and through the cañon to Great Salt Lake. I have no doubt it is three fourths fiction, and what there is of fact must be placed forward four years. 'We had a very dangerous passage down the river,' said Ashley to Beckwourth, 'and suffered more than I ever wish to see men suffer again. You are aware that we took but little provision with us, not expecting that the cañon extended so far. In passing over the rapids, where we lost two boats and three guns, we made use of ropes in letting down our boats over the most dangerous places. Our provisions soon gave out. We found plenty of beaver in the cañon for some miles, and, expecting to find them in as great plenty all the way, we saved none of their carcasses, which constituted our food. As we proceeded, however, they became more and more scarce, until there were none to be seen, and we were entirely out of provisions. To trace the river was impossible, and to ascend the perpendicu-

north-westerly, crossing the Colorado, Grande, Green, and Sevier rivers, and then turned south to the Rio Virgen, all the time trapping on the way. Then passing down by the Mojaves they reached Los Angeles in February 1831. George C. Yount and Louis Burton were of the party.⁸



GREEN RIVER COUNTRY.

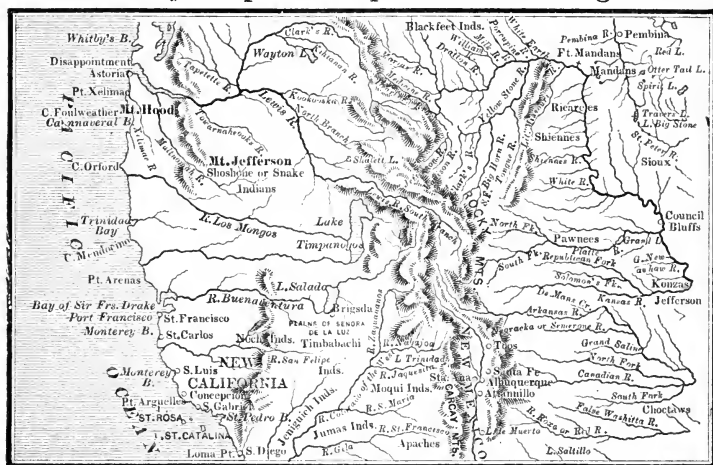
During the winter of 1832-3 B. L. E. Bonneville made his camp on Salmon River, and in July following was at the Green River rendezvous.⁹ Among the several trapping parties sent by him in various direc-

⁸ There was little of importance to Utah history in this expedition, for full particulars of which see *Hist. Cal.*, this series.

⁹ For an account of Bonneville and his several excursions see *Hist. Northwest Coast*, ii. chap. xxv.; *Hist. Cal.*, and *Hist. Nevada*, this series.

valley of the Willamette River, whose tributaries drain the whole of Nevada and Utah.

Mr Finley in his map of North America claimed to have included all the late geographical discoveries, which claim we may readily allow, and also accredit him with much not yet and never to be discovered. The mountains are artistically placed, the streams made to run with remarkable regularity and directness, and they are placed in positions affording the best



FINLEY'S MAP, 1826.

facilities for commerce. The lakes and rivers Timpanogos, Salado, and Buenaventura, by their position, not to say existence, show the hopeless confusion of the author's mind.

A brief glance at the later visits of white men to Utah is all that is necessary in this place. The early emigrants to Oregon did not touch this territory, and those to California *via* Fort Bridger for the most part merely passed through leaving no mark. The emigrants to Oregon and California in 1841 came together by the usual route up the Platte, along the Sweetwater, and through the South Pass to Bear River Valley. When near Soda Springs those for Oregon

went north to Fort Hall, while those for California followed Bear River southward until within ten miles of Great Salt Lake, when they turned westward to find Ogden River. Of the latter party were J. Bartleson, C. M. Weber, Talbot H. Green, John Bidwell, Josiah Belden, and twenty-seven others. Their adventures while in Utah were not startling. Little was known of the Salt Lake region,¹³ particularly of the country to the west of it.

Mr Belden in his *Historical Statement*, which I number among my most valuable manuscripts, says: "We struck Bear River some distance below where the town of Evanston now is, where the coal mines are, and the railroad passes, and followed the river down. It makes a long bend to the north there, and comes down to Salt Lake. We arrived at Soda Springs, on Bear River, and there we separated from the company of missionaries, who were going off towards Snake River or Columbia. There we lost the services of the guide Fitzpatrick. Several of our party who had started to go with us to California also left us there, having decided to go with the missionaries. Fitzpatrick advised us to give up our expedition and go with them to Fort Hall, one of the Hudson's Bay stations, as there was no road for us to follow, nothing was known of the country, and we had nothing to guide us, and so he advised us to give up the California project. He thought it was doubtful if we ever got there, we might get caught in the snow of the mountains and perish there, and he considered it very hazardous to attempt it. Some four or five of our party withdrew and went with the mis-

¹³ 'Previous to setting out,' says Bidwell, *California, 1841-8*, MS., 24-5, 'I consulted maps so as to learn as much as possible about the country... As for Salt Lake, there was a large lake marked in that region, but it was several hundred miles long from north to south, with two large rivers running from either end, diverging as they ran west, and entering the Pacific Ocean.' It was Finley's map of North America, 1826, herein reproduced, which he alludes to. 'My friends in Missouri advised me to bring tools, and in case we could not get through with our wagons to build canoes and go down one of these rivers.' The region to the west of Salt Lake was indeed a *terra incognita* to these explorers.

they passed on to Great Salt Lake, made camp near where Great Salt Lake City is situated, crossed to Antelope Island, and examined the southern portion of the lake. After this they passed by way of Pilot Peak into Nevada.¹⁸

Of the six companies comprising the California immigration of 1845, numbering in all about one hundred and fifty, five touched either Utah or Nevada, the other being from Oregon. But even these it is not necessary to follow in this connection, Utah along the emigrant road being by this time well known to travellers and others. With some it was a question while on the way whether they should go to Oregon or California. Tustin, who came from Illinois in 1845, with his wife and child and an ox team, says in his manuscript *Recollections*: "My intention all the way across the plains was to go on to Oregon; but when I reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains where the trail divides, I threw my lash across the near ox and struck off on the road to California."

For the Oregon and California emigrations of 1846, except when they exercised some influence on Utah, or Utah affairs, I would refer the reader to the volumes of this series treating on those states. An account of the exploration for a route from southern Oregon, over the Cascade Mountains, and by way of Klamath and Goose lakes to the Humboldt River, and thence on to the region of the Great Salt Lake by Scott and the Applegates in 1846, is given in both the *History of Oregon*, and the *History of Nevada*, to which volumes of this series the reader is referred.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Frémont's Expl. Ex.*, 151-60. *Warner in Pac. R. Rep.*, xi. 49-50.

¹⁹ The word Utah originated with the people inhabiting that region. Early in the 17th century, when New Mexico was first much talked of by the Spaniards, the principal nations of frequent mention as inhabiting the several sides of the locality about that time occupied were the Navajos, the Yutas, the Apaches, and the Comanches. Of the Utah nation, which belongs to the Shoshone family, there were many tribes. See *Native Races*, i. 422, 463-8.

CHAPTER III.

THE STORY OF MORMONISM.

1820-1830.

A GLANCE EASTWARD—THE MIDDLE STATES SIXTY YEARS AGO—BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF JOSEPH SMITH—SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS—JOSEPH TELLS HIS VISION—AND IS REVILED—MORONI APPEARS—PERSECUTIONS—COPYING THE PLATES—MARTIN HARRIS—OLIVER COWDERY—TRANSLATION—THE BOOK OF MORMON—AARONIC PRIESTHOOD CONFERRED—CONVERSIONS—THE WHITMER FAMILY—THE WITNESSES—SPAULDING THEORY—PRINTING OF THE BOOK—MELCHISEDEC PRIESTHOOD CONFERRED—DUTIES OF ELDERS AND OTHERS—CHURCH OF LATER-DAY SAINTS ORGANIZED—FIRST MIRACLE—FIRST CONFERENCE—OLIVER COWDERY ORDERED TO THE WEST.

LET us turn now to the east, where have been evolving these several years a new phase of society and a new religion, destined presently to enter in and take possession of this far-away primeval wilderness. For it is not alone by the power of things material that the land of the Yutas is to be subdued; that mysterious agency, working under pressure of high enthusiasm in the souls of men, defying exposure, cold, and hunger, defying ignominy, death, and the destruction of all corporeal things in the hope of heaven's favors and a happy immortality, a puissance whose very breath of life is persecution, and whose highest glory is martyrdom—it is through this subtle and incomprehensible spiritual instrumentality, rather than from a desire for riches or any tangible advantage that the new Israel is to arise, the new exodus to be conducted, the new Canaan to be attained.

Sixty years ago western New York was essentially a new country, Ohio and Illinois were for the most

part a wilderness, and Missouri was the United States limit, the lands beyond being held by the aborigines. There were some settlements between Lake Erie and the Mississippi River, but they were recent and rude, and the region was less civilized than savage. The people, though practically shrewd and of bright intellect, were ignorant; though having within them the elements of wealth, they were poor. There was among them much true religion, whatever that may be, yet they were all superstitious—baptists, methodists, and presbyterians; there was little to choose between them. Each sect was an abomination to the others; the others were of the devil, doomed to eternal torments, and deservedly so. The bible was accepted literally by all, every word of it, prophecies, miracles, and revelations; the same God and the same Christ satisfied all; an infidel was a thing woful and unclean. All the people reasoned. How they racked their brains in secret, and poured forth loud logic in public, not over problems involving intellectual liberty, human rights and reason, and other like insignificant matters appertaining to this world, but concerning the world to come, and more particularly such momentous questions as election, justification, baptism, and infant damnation. Then of signs and seasons, God's ways and Satan's ways; likewise concerning promises and prayer, and all the rest, there was a credulity most refreshing. In the old time there were prophets and apostles, there were visions and miracles; why should it not be so during these latter days? It was time for Christ to come again, time for the millennial season, and should the power of the almighty be limited? There was the arch-fanatic Miller, and his followers, predicting the end and planning accordingly. "The idea that revelation from God was unattainable in this age, or that the ancient gifts of the gospel had ceased forever, never entered my head," writes a young quaker; and a methodist of that epoch says: "We believed in the gathering of Israel, and in the restoration

of the ten tribes; we believed that Jesus would come to reign personally on the earth; we believed that there ought to be apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, as in former days, and that the gifts of healing and the power of God ought to be associated with the church." These ideas, of course, were not held by all; in many respects the strictly orthodox evangelical churches taught the contrary; but there was enough of this literal interpretation and license of thought among the people to enable them to accept in all honesty and sincerity any doctrine in harmony with these views.

Such were the people and the place, such the atmosphere and conditions under which was to spring up the germ of a new theocracy, destined in its development to accomplish the first settlement of Utah—a people and an atmosphere already sufficiently charged, one would think, with doctrines and dogmas, with vulgar folly and stupid fanaticism, with unchristian hate and disputation over the commands of God and the charity of Christ. All this must be taken into account in estimating character, and in passing judgment on credulity; men of one time and place cannot with justice be measured by the standard of other times and places.

Before entering upon the history of Mormonism, I would here remark, as I have before said in the preface to this volume, that it is my purpose to treat the subject historically, not as a social, political, or religious partisan, but historically to deal with the sect organized under the name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as I would deal with any other body of people, thus carrying over Utah the same quality of work which I have applied to my entire field, whether in Alaska, California, or Central America. Whatever they may be, howsoever righteous or wicked, they are entitled at the hand of those desirous of knowing the truth to a dispassionate and

respectful hearing, which they have never had. As a matter of course, where there is such warmth of feeling, such bitterness and animosity as is here displayed on both sides, we must expect to encounter in our evidence much exaggeration, and many untruthful statements. Most that has been written on either side is partisan—bitterly so; many of the books that have been published are full of vile and licentious abuse—disgustingly so. Some of the more palpable lies, some of the grosser scurrility and more blasphemous vulgarity, I shall omit altogether.

Again, the history of the Mormons, which is the early history of Utah, is entitled in its treatment to this consideration, as differing from that of other sections of my work, and to this only—that whereas in speaking of other and older sects, as of the catholics in Mexico and California, and of the methodists and presbyterians in Oregon, whose tenets having long been established, are well known, and have no immediate bearing aside from the general influence of religion upon the subjugation of the country, any analysis of doctrines would be out of place, such analysis in the present instance is of primary importance. Ordinarily, I say, as I have said before, that with the religious beliefs of the settlers on new lands, or of the builders of empire in any of its several phases, social and political, the historian has nothing to do, except in so far as belief influences actions and events. As to attempting to determine the truth or falsity of any creed, it is wholly outside of his province.

Since the settlement of Utah grew immediately out of the persecution of the Mormons, and since their persecutions grew out of the doctrines which they promulgated, it seems to me essential that the origin and nature of their religion should be given. And as they are supposed to know better than others what they believe and how they came so to believe, I shall let them tell their own story of the rise and progress of their religion, carrying along with it the commenta-

livered to him he should show them to no one, under pain of death and destruction—the place where the plates were deposited meanwhile being clearly revealed to his mental vision—the light in the room grew dim, as Moroni ascended along a pathway of glory into heaven, and finally darkness was there as before. The visit was made three times, the last ending with the dawn, when Joseph arose greatly exhausted and went into the field to work.

His father, observing his condition, sent him home; but on the way Joseph fell in a state of unconsciousness to the ground. Soon, however, the voice of Moroni was heard, commanding him to return to his father, and tell him all that he had seen and heard. The young man obeyed. The father answered that it was of God; the son should do as the messenger had said. Then Joseph, knowing from the vision where the plates were hidden, went to the west side of a hill, called the hill Cumorah, near the town of Manchester, and beneath a large stone, part of whose top appeared above the ground, in a stone box,² he found the plates,³ the urim and thum-

² Oliver Cowdery stated that he visited the spot, and that 'at the bottom of this [hole] lay a stone of suitable size, the upper surface being smooth. At each edge was placed a large quantity of cement, and into this cement at the four edges of this stone were placed erect four others, their lower edges resting in the cement at the outer edges of the first stone. The four last named when placed erect formed a box, the corners, or where the edges of the four came in contact, were also cemented so firmly that the moisture from without was prevented from entering. It is to be observed also that the inner surfaces of the four erect or side stones were smooth. The box was sufficiently large to admit a breastplate. From the bottom of the box or from the breastplate arose three small pillars, composed of the same description of cement as that used on the edges; and upon these three pillars were placed the records. The box containing the records was covered with another stone, the lower surface being flat and the upper crowning.' *Mackay's The Mormons*, 20.

³ Orson Pratt thus describes the plates, *Visions*, 14: 'These records were engraved on plates, which had the appearance of gold. Each plate was not far from seven by eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engravings in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, and fastened at one edge with three rings running through the whole. This volume was about six inches in thickness, and a part of it was sealed. The characters or letters upon the unsealed part were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, as well

mim,⁴ and the breastplate.⁵ But when he was about to take them out Moroni stood beside him and said, "Not yet; meet me here at this time each year for four years, and I will tell you what to do." Joseph obeyed.

The elder Smith was poor, and the boys were sometimes obliged to hire themselves out as laborers. It was on the 22d of September, 1823, that the plates were found. The following year Alvin died, and in October 1825 Joseph went to work for Josiah Stool, in Chenango county. This man had what he supposed to be a silver mine at Harmony, Pennsylvania, said to have been once worked by Spaniards. Thither Joseph went with the other men to dig for silver,⁶

as much skill in the art of engraving.' In the introduction to the *Book of Mormon* (New York ed.), viii., is given essentially the same description. See also *Bonwick's Mormons and Silver Mines*, 61; *Bertrand, Mem. d'un Mor.*, 25; *Olshausen, Gesch. d. Morm.*, 12-29; *Stenhouse, Les Mormons*, i.-vii.; *Ferris' Utah and The Mormons*, 58; *Mackay's The Mormons*, 15-22; *Smucker's Hist. Mormons*, 18-28. For fac-simile of writing on golden plates, see *Beadle's Life in Utah*, 25. For illustrations of the hill, finding the plates, etc., see *Mackay's The Mormons*, 15; *Smucker's Hist. Mormons*, 24; *Tucker's Origin and Prog. Mor.*, frontispiece. When sceptics ask, Why are not the plates forthcoming? believers ask in turn, Why are not forthcoming the stone tables of Moses? And yet the ten commandments are to-day accepted.

⁴ 'With the book were found the urim and thummim, two transparent crystals set in the rims of a bow. These pebbles were the seer's instrument whereby the mystery of hidden things was to be revealed!' Introduction to *Book of Mormon* (New York ed.), viii. 'The best attainable definition of the ancient urim and thummim is quite vague and indistinct. An accepted biblical lexicographer gives the meaning as "light and perfection," or the "shining and the perfect." The following is quoted from *Butterworth's Concordance*: "There are various conjectures about the urim and thummim, whether they were the stones in the high-priest's breastplate, or something distinct from them; which it is not worth our while to inquire into, since God has left it a secret. It is evident that the urim and thummim were appointed to inquire of God by, on momentous occasions, and continued in use, as some think, only till the building of Solomon's temple, and all conclude that this was never restored after its destruction." *Tucker's Origin and Prog. Mor.*, 32.

⁵ 'A breastplate such as was used by the ancients to defend the chest from the arrows and weapons of their enemy.' *Mackay's The Mormons*, 20.

⁶ 'Hence arose the very prevalent story of my having been a money digger.' *Hist. Joseph Smith*, in *Times and Seasons*, May 2, 1842. It seems from this, or some other cause, that the followers of Smith have never regarded mining with favor, although some of them at times have engaged in that occupation. Upon the discovery of gold in California, the Mormons were among the first in the field, at Coloma, at Mormon Bar, and elsewhere. Left there a little longer, they would soon have gathered barrels of the precious dust; but promptly upon the call they dropped their tools, abandoned their brilliant prospects, and crossing the Sierra, began to build homes among their people in the untenanted desert.

ceding editions. The edition at present in common use was printed at Salt Lake City, at the *Deseret News* office, and entered according to act of congress in 1879, by Joseph F. Smith. It is divided into chapters and verses, with references by Orson Pratt, senior. The arrangement is as follows:

The first book of Nephi, his reign and ministry, 22 chapters; the second book of Nephi, 33 chapters; the book of Jacob, the brother of Nephi, 7 chapters; the book of Enos, 1 chapter; the book of Jarom, 1 chapter; the book of Omni, 1 chapter; the words of Mormon, 1 chapter; the book of Mosiah, 29 chapters; the book of Alma, the son of Alma, 63 chapters; the book of Helaman, 16 chapters; the book of Nephi, the son of Nephi, who was the son of Helaman, 30 chapters; the book of Nephi, who is the son of Nephi, one of the disciples of Jesus Christ, 1 chapter; book of Mormon, 9 chapters; book of Ether, 15 chapters; the book of Moroni, 10 chapters. In all 239 chapters.

I give herewith the contents of the several books. The style, like that of the revelations, is biblical.

'First Book of Nephi. Language of the record; Nephi's abridgment; Lehi's dream; Lehi departs into the wilderness; Nephi slayeth Laban; Sariah complains of Lehi's vision; contents of the brass plates; Ishmael goes with Nephi; Nephi's brethren rebel, and bind him; Lehi's dream of the tree, rod, etc.; Messiah and John prophesied of; olive branches broken off; Nephi's vision of Mary; of the crucifixion of Christ; of darkness and earthquake; great abominable church; discovery of the promised land; bible spoken of; book of Mormon and holy ghost promised; other books come forth; bible and book of Mormon one; promises to the gentiles; two churches; the work of the Father to commence; a man in white robes (John); Nephites come to knowledge; rod of iron; the sons of Lehi take wives; director found (ball); Nephi breaks his bow; directors work by faith; Ishmael died; Lehi and Nephi threatened; Nephi commanded to build a ship; Nephi about to be worshipped by his brethren; ship finished and entered; dancing in the ship; Nephi bound; ship driven back; arrived on the promised land; plates of ore made; Zenos, Neum, and Zenock; Isaiah's writing; holy one of Israel.

'Second Book of Nephi. Lehi to his sons; opposition in all things; Adam fell that man might be; Joseph saw our day; a choice seer; writings grow together; prophet promised to the Lamanites; Joseph's prophecy on brass plates; Lehi buried; Nephi's life sought; Nephi separated from Laman; temple built; skin of blackness; priests, etc., consecrated; make other plates; Isaiah's words by Jacob; angels to a devil; spirits and bodies reunited; baptism; no kings upon this land; Isaiah prophesieth; rod of the stem of Jesse; seed of Joseph perisheth not; law of Moses kept; Christ shall shew himself; signs of Christ, birth and death; whisper from the dust; book sealed up; priestcraft forbidden; sealed book to be brought forth; three witnesses behold the book; the words (read this, I pray thee); seal up the book again; their priests shall contend; teach with their learning, and deny the holy ghost; rob the poor; a bible, a bible; men judged of the books; white and a delightful people; work commences among all people; lamb of God baptized; baptism by water and holy ghost.

'Book of Jacob. Nephi anointeth a king; Nephi dies; Nephites and Lamanites; a righteous branch from Joseph; Lamanites shall scourge you; more than one wife forbidden; trees, waves, and mountains obey us; Jews look beyond the mark; tame olive tree; nethermost part of the vineyard; fruit laid up against the season; another branch; wild fruit had overcome; lord of the vineyard weeps; branches overcome the roots; wild branches plucked off; Sherem, the anti-Christ; a sign, Sherem smitten; Enos takes the plates from his father.

'The Book of Enos. Enos, thy sins are forgiven; records threatened by Lamanites; Lamanites eat raw meat.

'The Book of Jarom. Nephites wax strong; Lamanites drink blood; fortify cities; plates delivered to Omni.

'The Book of Omni. Plates given to Amaron; plates given to Chemish;

Mosiah warned to flee; Zarahemia discovered; engravings on a stone; Coriantumr discovered; his parents come from the tower; plates delivered to King Benjamin.

'The words of Mormon. False Christs and prophets.

'Book of Mosiah. Mosiah made king; the plates of brass, sword, and director; King Benjamin teacheth the people; their tent doors toward the temple; coming of Christ foretold; beggars not denied; sons and daughters; Mosiah began to reign; Ammon, etc., bound and imprisoned; Limhi's proclamation; twenty-four plates of gold; seer and translator.

'Record of Zeniff. A battle fought; King Laman died; Noah made king; Abinadi the prophet; resurrection; Alma believed Abinadi; Abinadi cast into prison and scourged with fagots; waters of Mormon; the daughters of the Lamanites stolen by King Noah's priests; records on plates of ore; last tribute of wine; Lamanites' deep sleep; King Limhi baptized; priests and teachers labor; Alma saw an angel; Alma fell (dumb); King Mosiah's sons preach to the Lamanites; translation of records; plates delivered by Limhi; translated by two stones; people back to the Tower; records given to Alma; judges appointed; King Mosiah died; Alma died; Kings of Nephi ended.

'The Book of Alma. Nehor slew Gideon; Amlici made king; Amlici slain in battle; Amlicites painted red; Alma baptized in Sidon; Alma's preaching; Alma ordained elders; commanded to meet often; Alma saw an angel; Amulek saw an angel; lawyers questioning Amulek; coins named; Zeesrom the lawyer; Zeesrom trembles; election spoken of; Melchizedek priesthood; Zeesrom stoned; records burned; prison rent; Zeesrom healed and baptized; Nehor's desolation; Lamanites converted; flocks scattered at Sebus; Ammon smote off arms; Ammon and King Lamoni; King Lamoni fell; Ammon and the queen; king and queen prostrate; Aaron, etc., delivered; Jerusalem built; preaching in Jerusalem; Lamoni's father converted; land desolation and bountiful; anti-Nephi-Lehies; general council; swords buried; 1,005 massacred; Lamanites perish by fire; slavery forbidden; anti-Nephi-Lehies removed to Jershon, called Ammonites; tremendous battle; anti-Christ, Korihor; Korihor struck dumb; the devil in the form of an angel; Korihor trodden down; Alma's mission to Zoramites; Rameumptom (holy stand); Alma on hill Onidah; Alma on faith; prophecy of Zenos; prophecy of Zenock; Amulek's knowledge of Christ; charity recommended; same spirit possess your body; believers cast out; Alma to Helaman; plates given to Helaman; twenty-four plates; Gazelem, a stone (secret); Liahona, or compass; Alma to Shiblon; Alma to Corianton; unpardonable sin; resurrection; restoration; justice in punishment; if, Adam, took, tree, life; mercy rob justice; Moroni's stratagem; slaughter of Lamanites; Moroni's speech to Zarahemnah; prophecy of a soldier; Lamanites' covenant of peace; Alma's prophecy 400 years after Christ; dwindle in unbelief; Alma's strange departure; Amalickiah leadeth away the people, destroyeth the church; standard of Moroni; Joseph's coat rent; Jacob's prophecy of Joseph's seed; fevers in the land, plants and roots for diseases; Amalickiah's plot; the king stabbed; Amalickiah marries the queen, and is acknowledged king; fortifications by Moroni; ditches filled with dead bodies; Amalickiah's oath; Pahoran appointed judge; army against king-men; Amalickiah slain; Ammoron made king; Bountiful fortified; dissensions; 2,000 young men; Moroni's epistle to Ammoron; Ammoron's answer; Lamanites made drunk; Moroni's stratagem; Helaman's epistle to Moroni; Helaman's stratagem; mothers taught faith; Lamanites surrendered; city of Antiparah taken; city of Cumeni taken; 200 of the 2,000 fainted; prisoners rebel, slain; Manti taken by stratagem; Moroni to the governor; governor's answer; King Pachus slain; cords and ladders prepared; Nephihah taken; Teancum's stratagem, slain; peace established; Moroni made commander; Helaman died; sacred things, Shiblon; Moroni died; 5,400 emigrated north; ships built by Hagoth; sacred things committed to Helaman; Shiblon died.

'The Book of Helaman. Pahoran died; Pahoran appointed judge; Kishkumen slays Pahoran; Pacumeni appointed judge; Zarahamia taken; Pacu-

By the spirit of prophecy and revelation it is done. The rise of the church of Jesus Christ in these last days is on the 6th of April, 1830, at which date the church was organized under the provisions of the statutes of the state of New York by Joseph Smith junior, Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Samuel H. Smith, and Peter Whitmer. Joseph Smith, ordained an apostle of Jesus Christ, is made by the commandment of God the first elder of this church, and Oliver Cowdery, likewise an apostle, is made the second elder. Again the first elder falls into worldly entanglements, but upon repentance and self-humbling he is delivered by an angel.

The duties of elders, priests, teachers, deacons, and members are as follow: All who desire it, with honesty and humility, may be baptized into the church; old covenants are at an end, all must be baptized anew. An apostle is an elder; he shall baptize, ordain other elders, priests, teachers, and deacons, administer bread and wine, emblems of the flesh and blood of Christ; he shall confirm, teach, expound, exhort, taking the lead at meetings, and conducting them as he is taught by the holy ghost. The priest's duty is to preach, teach, expound, exhort, baptize, administer the sacrament, and visit and pray with members; he may also ordain other priests, teachers, and deacons, giving a certificate of ordination, and lead in meetings when no elder is present. The teacher's duty is to watch over and strengthen the members, preventing evil speaking and all iniquity, to see that the meetings are regularly held, and to take the lead in them in the absence of elder or priest. The deacon's duty is to assist the teacher; teacher and deacon may warn, expound, exhort, but neither of them shall baptize, administer the sacrament, or lay on hands. The elders are to meet in council for the transaction of church business every three months, or oftener should meetings be called. Subordinate officers will receive from the elders a license defining their authority; elders will

CHAPTER IV.

THE STORY OF MORMONISM.

1830-1835.

PARLEY PRATT'S CONVERSION—MISSION TO THE LAMANITES—THE MISSIONARIES AT KIRTLAND—CONVERSION OF SIDNEY RIGDON—MORMON SUCCESS AT KIRTLAND—THE MISSIONARIES IN MISSOURI—RIGDON VISITS SMITH—EDWARD PARTRIDGE—THE MELCHISEDEC PRIESTHOOD GIVEN—SMITH AND RIGDON JOURNEY TO MISSOURI—BIBLE TRANSLATION—SMITH'S SECOND VISIT TO MISSOURI—UNEXAMPLED PROSPERITY—CAUSES OF PERSECUTIONS—MOBOCRACY—THE SAINTS ARE DRIVEN FROM JACKSON COUNTY—TREACHERY OF BOGGS—MILITARY ORGANIZATION AT KIRTLAND—THE NAME LATTER-DAY SAINTS—MARCH TO MISSOURI.

ONE evening as Hyrum Smith was driving cows along the road toward his father's house, he was overtaken by a stranger, who inquired for Joseph Smith, translator of the book of Mormon. "He is now residing in Pennsylvania, a hundred miles away," was the reply.

"And the father of Joseph?"

"He also is absent on a journey. That is his house yonder, and I am his son."

The stranger then said that he was a preacher of the word; that he had just seen for the first time a copy of the wonderful book; that once it was in his hands he could not lay it down until he had devoured it, for the spirit of the Lord was upon him as he read, and he knew that it was true; the spirit of the Lord had directed him thither, and his heart was full of joy.

Hyrum gazed at him in amazement; for converts of this quality, and after this fashion, were not common in those days of poverty and sore trial. He was little more than a boy, being but twenty-three,

and of that fresh, fair innocence which sits only on a youthful face beaming with high enthusiasm. But it was more than a boy's soul that was seen through those eyes of deep and solemn earnestness; it was more than a boy's strength of endurance that was indicated by the broad chest and comely, compact limbs; and more than a boy's intelligence and powers of reasoning that the massive brow betokened.

Hyrum took the stranger to the house, and they passed the night in discourse, sleeping little. The convert's name was Parley P. Pratt. He was a native of Burlington, New York, and born April 12, 1807. His father was a farmer of limited means and education, and though not a member of any religious society, had a respect for all. The boy had a passion for books; the bible especially he read over and over again with deep interest and enthusiasm. He early manifested strong religious feeling; mind and soul seemed all on fire as he read of the patriarchs and kings of the old testament, and of Christ and his apostles of the new. In winter at school, and in summer at work, his life passed until he was sixteen, when he went west with his father William, some two hundred miles on foot, to Oswego, two miles from which town they bargained for a thickly wooded tract of seventy acres, at four dollars an acre, paying some seventy dollars in cash. After a summer's work for wages back near the old home, and a winter's work clearing the forest farm, the place was lost through failure to meet the remaining payments. Another attempt to make a forest home, this time in Ohio, thirty miles west of Cleveland, was more successful; and after much toil and many hardships, he found himself, in 1827, comfortably established there, with Thankful Halsey as his wife.

Meanwhile religion ran riot through his brain. His mind, however, was of a reasoning, logical caste. "Why this difference," he argued, "between the ancient and modern Christians, their doctrines and their

In the presence of six elders, at Fayette, in September 1830, came the voice of Jesus Christ, promising them every blessing, while the wicked should be destroyed. The millennium should come; but first dire destruction should fall upon the earth, and the great and abominable church should be cast down. Hiram Page renounced his stone. David Whitmer was ordered to his father's house, there to await further instructions. Peter Whitmer junior, Parley P. Pratt, and Ziba Peterson were directed to go with Oliver and assist him in preaching the gospel to the Lamanites, that is to say, to the Indians in the west, the remnant of the tribe of Joseph. Thomas B. Marsh was promised that he should begin to preach. Miracles were limited to casting out devils and healing the sick. Wine for sacramental purposes must not be bought, but made at home.²

Taking with them a copy of the revelation assigning to them this work, these first appointed missionaries set out, and continued their journey, preaching in the villages through which they passed, and stopping at Buffalo to instruct the Indians as to their ancestry, until they came to Kirtland, Ohio. There they remained some time, as many came forward and embraced their faith, among others Sidney Rigdon, a preaching elder in the reformed baptist church, who presided over a congregation there, a large portion of whom likewise became interested in the latter-day church.³

Taylor. The preface to the ninth edition, published at Liverpool and London in 1851, is by Franklin D. Richards, who states that 54,000 copies of the several editions have been sold in the European missions alone within eleven years. Several editions have since been published in Europe and America.

² Smith says: 'In order to prepare for this (confirmation) I set out to go to procure some wine for the occasion, but had gone only a short distance when I was met by a heavenly messenger, and received the revelation.' *Millennial Star*, iv. 151; *Times and Seasons*, iv. 117-18.

³ At the town of Kirtland, two miles from Rigdon's residence, was a number of the members of his church who lived together, and had all things in common, from which circumstance, Smith says, the idea arose that this was the case with the Mormon believers. To these people the missionaries repaired and preached with some success, gathering in seventeen on the first occasion. Rigdon after spending some time in the study of the book of Mor-

Rigdon was a native of Pennsylvania, and was now thirty-seven years of age. He worked on his father's farm until he was twenty-six, when he went to live with the Rev. Andrew Clark, and the same year, 1819, was licensed to preach. Thence he went to Warren, Ohio, and married; and after preaching for a time he was called to take charge of a church at Pittsburgh, where he met with success, and soon became very popular. But his mind was perplexed over the doctrines he was required to promulgate, and in 1824 he retired from his ministry. There were two friends who had likewise withdrawn from their respective churches, and with whom he conferred freely, Alexander Campbell, of his own congregation, and one Walter Scott, of the Scandinavian church of that city. Campbell had formerly lived at Bethany, Virginia, where was issued under his auspices a monthly journal called the *Christian Baptist*. Out of this friendship and association arose a new church, called the Campbellites, its doctrines having been published by Campbell in his paper. During the next two years Rigdon was obliged to work in a tannery to support his family; then he removed to Bainbridge, Ohio, where he again began to preach, confining himself to no creed, but leaning toward that of the Campbellites. Crowds flocked to hear him, and a church was established in a neighboring town through his instrumentality. After a year of this work he accepted a call to Mentor, thirty miles distant. Slanderous reports followed him, and a storm of persecution set in against him; but by his surpassing eloquence and deep reasoning it was not only soon allayed, but greater multitudes than ever waited on his ministrations.

mon concluded to accept its doctrines, and together with his wife was baptized into the church, which now numbered about twenty in this section. *Millennial Star*, iv. 181-4; v. 4-7, 17; *Times and Seasons*, iv. 177, 193-4. Rigdon had for nearly three years already taught the literal interpretation of scripture prophecies, the gathering of the Israelites to receive the second coming, the literal reign of the saints on earth, and the use of miraculous gifts in the church. *Gunnison's Mormons*, 101.

of the bible; Rigdon went to Kirtland, and on the 2d of April, in obedience to a revelation, Smith started for Missouri, having for his companions Whitney, Peter Whitmer, and Gause. The spirit of mobocracy was aroused throughout the entire country. Joseph even feared to go to Kirtland, and escaped by way of Warren, where he was joined by Rigdon, whence the two proceeded to Cincinnati and St Louis by way of Wheeling, Virginia, a mob following them a good part of the way. The brethren at Independence and vicinity welcomed their leaders warmly, but the unbelievers there as elsewhere hourly threatened violence.²⁴ In May the first edition of the *Book of Commandments*²⁵ was ordered printed; the following month, pub-

dishonorable dealing, forgery, and swindling. *Burton's City of the Saints*, 672. Smith merely says that Rigdon was mad; but his mother asserts that he counterfeited the madness in order to mislead the saints into the belief that the keys of the kingdom had been taken from the church, and would not be restored, as he said, until they had built him a new house. This, she says, gave rise to great scandal, which Joseph however succeeded in silencing. Rigdon repented and was forgiven. He stated that as a punishment for his fault, the devil had three times thrown him out of his bed in one night. *Remy's Journey to Great Salt Lake*, i. 283 (note).

²⁴The 26th of April Smith called a general council, which acknowledged him as president of the high priesthood, to which he had been ordained at the Amherst conference in January, and Bishop Partridge and Rigdon, who had quarrelled, were reconciled, probably by Smith, as Rigdon was supposed to be at Kirtland at the time. This greatly rejoiced Smith; and he immediately received a revelation, in which it was announced that the stakes must be strengthened, and all property was to be held in common. *Times and Seasons*, v. 624-5; *Mackay's The Mormons*, 71.

²⁵The first edition of *Doctrine and Covenants* presents the following title page: *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ organized according to law on the 6th of April, 1830. Zion: Published by W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833.* This edition contains the revelations given up to September, 1831. There were 3,000 copies printed of this edition. Then there was *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints; Selected from the Revelations of God. By Joseph Smith, President. First European Edition, Liverpool, no date.* The preface, however, by Thomas Ward, is dated Liverpool, June 14, 1845. There are two principal divisions and an appendix. The first consists of seven lectures on faith, delivered by Sidney Rigdon before a class of elders at Kirtland; the second is called Covenants and Commandments, and consists chiefly of revelations given 1830-42, to Joseph Smith, the same for the most part that are also printed in *Times and Seasons*, under title of History of Joseph Smith. There are also rules, minutes of council, visions, and expositions. The appendix contains rules on marriage, a dissertation on government and laws, and a brief account of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. 'The book of Mormon, although most known, is not the chief book of the sect. The *Book of Teachings and Covenants*, containing some of the revelations which Smith pretended to have received from heaven, is regarded by his disciples as a book of the law which God

lished in connection with the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*, appeared the first number of the *Evening and Morning Star*, under the auspices of W. W. Phelps, whose printing-press was the only one within a hundred and twenty miles of Independence. On the 6th of May Smith, Rigdon, and Whitney again set out on their return to Kirtland.²⁶ On the way Whitney broke his leg. Smith was poisoned, and that so badly that he dislocated his jaw in vomiting, and the hair upon his head became loosened; Whitney, however, laid his hands on him, and administered in the name of the Lord, and he was healed in an instant.²⁷

Some three or four hundred saints being now gathered in Missouri, most of them settled on their own inheritances in this land of Zion, besides many others scattered abroad throughout the land, who were yet to come hither, it was deemed best to give the matter of schools some attention. Parley P. Pratt was laboring in Illinois. Newel K. Whitney was directed in September to leave his business in other hands, visit

has given this generation. Smith also published other revelations, which are contained in a little book called *The Pearl of Great Price.* *De Smet's Western Missions*, 393. 'This book abounds in grammatical inaccuracies, even to a greater extent than the book of Mormon.' *Mackay's The Mormons*, 43. A bungling statement is made by Mather, *Lippincott's Mag.*, Aug. 1880, to the effect that in 1835 'Rigdon's *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* and his *Lectures on Faith* were adopted.'

²⁶ Arrangements were early made for the establishment of a store. *Ferris' Utah and Mormons*, 75. When the printing press was bought—see *Deseret News*, June 30, 1869—a supply of goods was purchased; and arrangements were made at the May council to keep up the supply, which, with few exceptions, were considered satisfactory. On April 27th considerable business was transacted 'for the salvation of the saints who were settling among a ferocious set of mobbers, like lambs among wolves.' On the 28th and 29th Smith visited the settlement above Big Blue River in Kaw township, 12 miles west of Independence, including the Colesville branch, and returned on the 30th, when it was revealed that all minors should be supported by their parents, but after becoming of age 'they had claims upon the church, or in other words, the Lord's storehouse,' as was also the case with widows left destitute. *Times and Seasons*, v. 625-6.

²⁷ On May 6th, leaving affairs as he supposed in a flourishing condition, Smith started for Kirtland to look after the mill, store, and farm in that neighborhood, but owing to an accident which resulted in the breaking of Whitney's leg, Smith was delayed 4 weeks en route. Rigdon, who was also of the party, proceeded through without stopping, and the other two arrived some time in June. The season was passed by Smith in his work of translating the scriptures, and in attending to business affairs. *Times and Seasons*, v. 626.

CHAPTER V.

THE STORY OF MORMONISM.

1835-1840.

PRESIDENT SMITH AT KIRTLAND—FIRST QUORUM OF TWELVE APOSTLES—THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE COMPLETED—KIRTLAND SAFETY SOCIETY BANK—IN ZION AGAIN—THE SAINTS IN MISSOURI—APOSTASY—ZEAL AND INDISCRETION—MILITARY ORGANIZATION—THE WAR OPENS—DEPREDACTIONS ON BOTH SIDES—MOVEMENTS OF ATCHISON, PARKS, AND DONIPHAN—ATTITUDE OF BOGGS—WIGHT AND GILLIAM—DEATH OF PATTEN—DANITE ORGANIZATION—ORDER LODGE—HAUN MILL TRAGEDY—MOBS AND MILITIA—THE TABLES TURNED—BOGGS' EXTERMINATING ORDER—LUCAS AND CLARK AT FAR WEST—SURRENDER OF THE MORMONS—PRISONERS—PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS—EXPULSION—GATHERING AT QUINCY—OPINIONS.

MEANWHILE, although the frontier of Zion was receiving such large accessions, the main body of the church was still at Kirtland, where President Smith remained for some time.

On the 14th of February, 1835, twelve apostles were chosen at Kirtland, Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, and Heber C. Kimball being of the number; likewise a little later Parley P. Pratt. Thence, the following summer, they took their departure for the east, holding conferences and ordaining and instructing elders in the churches throughout New York and New England, and the organization of the first quorum of seventies was begun. Classes for instruction, and a school of prophets were commenced, and Sidney Rigdon delivered six lectures on faith, of which Joseph Smith was author.¹ Preaching on the steps of a

¹They were printed and bound in *Doctrine and Covenants*. See Hyde's *Mormonism*, 202; Remy's *Journey*, 504; Pratt's *Autobiography*, 139. Mather, in *Lippincott's Mag.*, Aug. 1880, states that the twelve apostles started in May.

another Mormon, named Durfee. Thereupon eight or ten men, with clubs and stones, fell upon Durfee, whose friends rallied to his assistance, and the fight became general, but with indecisive results. The Mormons voted, however, and the rest of the day passed quietly.



THE WAR IN MISSOURI.

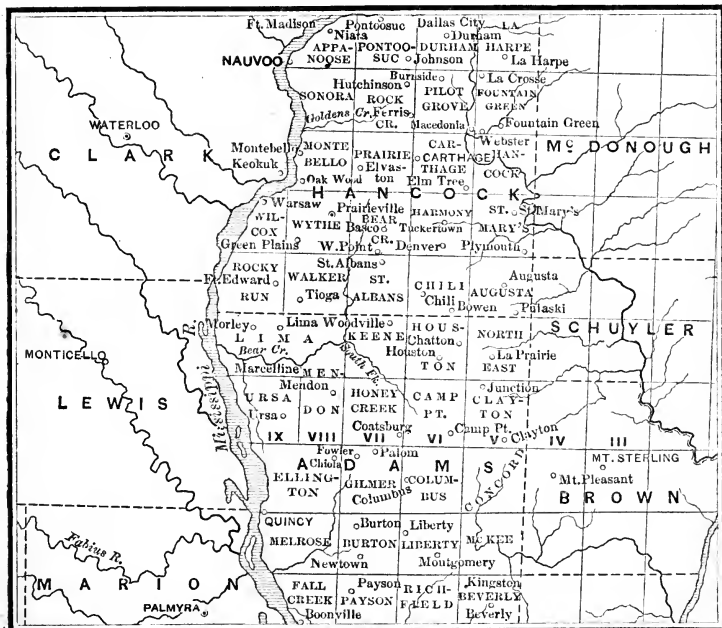
On the next day two or three of Peniston's party, in order it was said to stir up the saints to violence, rode over to Far West, one after another, and re-

ings organizing his men into companies of tens and fifties, with captains. Then he called the officers together and told them that they were to go forth and spoil the gentiles; but they rejected the proposal, and Arvard was cut off from the church. All the present leaders of the Mormon church deny emphatically the existence of any such band or society as a part of or having anything to do with their organization.²⁸

²⁸ 'It was intended to enable him,' Smith, 'more effectually to execute his clandestine purposes.' '“Milking the gentiles” is a kind of vernacular term of the Mormons, and signifies the obtaining of money or property from those who are not members of the Mormon church.' *Id.*, 272-8. 'In an examination before Judge King, Samuel (Samson?) Arvard testified that the first object of the Danite band was to drive from the county of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon church, in which they succeeded admirably. . . The prophet Joseph Smith, Jr, together with his two counsellors Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon, were considered the supreme head of the church, and the Danite band felt themselves as much bound to obey them as to obey the supreme God.' John Corrill swore: 'I think the original object of the Danite band was to operate on the dissenters; but afterwards it grew into a system to carry out the designs of the presidency, and if it was necessary, to use physical force to uphold the kingdom of God.' John Cleminson said: 'Whoever opposed the presidency in what they said or desired done should be expelled the county or have their lives taken.' Wm W. Phelps, for a season an apostate, testified: 'If any person spoke against the presidency they would hand him over to the hands of the Brothers of Gideon.' 'The object of the meeting seemed to be to make persons confess and repent of their sins to God and the presidency.' 'Wight asked Smith, Jr, twice if it had come to the point now to resist the laws. Smith replied the time had come when he should resist all law.' *Ferris' Utah and the Mormons*, 92-3. Arvard 'swore false concerning a constitution, as he said, that was introduced among the Danites, and made many other lying statements in connection therewith.' *Mem. to Leg.*, in *Greene's Facts*, 32-3. Says John Corrill in his *Brief History*, 'A company, called the Fur Company, was raised for the purpose of procuring provisions, for pressing teams, and even men sometimes, into the army in Caldwell.' Reed Peck testified that small companies were sent out on various plundering expeditions; that he 'saw one of these companies on its return. It was called a fur company. Some had one thing, some another; one had a feather-bed; another some spun yarn, etc. This fur they were to take to the bishop's store, where it was to be deposited, and if they failed to do this it would be considered stealing.' *Kidder's Mormonism*, 147-8. Affidavit of the city council, Nauvoo: 'We do further testify that there is no such thing as a Danite society in this city, nor any combination other than the Masonic of which we have any knowledge.' Signed by Wilson Law, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and 10 others. *Millennial Star*, xix. 614. References to authorities speaking of the Danites: *Mackay's The Mormons*, 89-90, 116; *Lee's Mormonism*, 57-8, 156-60; *Olshausen, Gesch. d. Morm.*, 48; *Ferris' Utah and the Mormons*, 89; *Beadle's Life in Utah*, 389-90; *Burton's City of the Saints*, 359; *Smucker's Hist. Mor.*, 108-9; *Young's Wife No. 19*, 47-8, 268; *Busch, Gesch. der Morm.*, 87; *Marshall's Through Am.*, 215-16; *Hyde's Mormonism*, 104-5; *Bennett's Mormonism Exposed*, 263-72; *Miller's First Families*, 64-5; *Hickman's Brigham's Destroying Angel*; *Hall's Mormonism*, 94-5; *E. M. Webb, in Utah County Sketches*, MS., 49-50, the last named referring to the rules and principles of the order of Enoch.

over one hundred and thirty families are on the west bank of the Mississippi unable to cross the river, which is full of floating ice. There they wait and suffer; they scour the country for food and clothing for the destitute; many sicken and die.

Finally they reach Quincy, and are kindly received. Not only the saints but others are there who have human hearts and human sympathies. Indeed, upon the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri the



SETTLEMENTS IN ILLINOIS.

people of Illinois took a stand in their favor. The citizens of Quincy, in particular, offered their warmest sympathy and aid, on the ground of humanity. A select committee, appointed to ascertain the facts in the case, reported, on the 27th of February, 1839, "that the

thousand souls, been driven from houses and lands and reduced to poverty, and had removed to another state, during one short winter and part of a spring. The sacrifice of property was immense.' *Pratt's Autobiography*, 245.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STORY OF MORMONISM.

1840-1844.

THE CITY OF NAUVOO—ITS TEMPLE AND UNIVERSITY—THE NAUVOO LEGION—THE MORMONS IN ILLINOIS—EVIL REPORTS—REVELATION ON POLYGAMY—ITS RECEPTION AND PRACTICE—THE PROPHET A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY—THE 'NAUVOO EXPOSITOR'—JOSEPH ARRESTED—GOVERNOR FORD AND HIS MEASURES—JOSEPH AND HYRUM PROCEED TO CARTHAGE—THEIR IMPRISONMENT—THE GOVERNOR'S PLEDGE—ASSASSINATION OF THE PROPHET AND HIS BROTHER—CHARACTER OF JOSEPH SMITH—A PANIC AT CARTHAGE—ADDRESSES OF RICHARDS AND TAYLOR—PEACEFUL ATTITUDE OF THE MORMONS

To the saints it is indeed a place of refuge, the city of Nauvoo, the Holy City, the City of Joseph.¹ It stands on rolling land, covering a bed of limestone yielding excellent building material, and bordered on three sides by the river which here makes a majestic curve, and is nearly two miles in width. The aborigines were not indifferent to the advantages of the spot, as the presence of their mounds testifies. In area it is three miles by four. The city is regularly laid out in streets at right angles, of convenient width, along which are scattered neat, whitewashed log cabins, also frame, brick, and stone houses, with grounds and gardens. It is incorporated by charter,² and contains the best institutions of the latest civilization; in the

¹ 'Among the more zealous Mormons, it became the fashion at this time (1845) to disuse the word Nauvoo, and to call the place the holy city, or the city of Joseph.' *Mackay's The Mormons*, 191.

² The charter granted by the legislature was signed by Gov. Carlin Sept. 16, 1840, to take effect Feb. 1, 1841. 'So artfully framed that it was found that the state government was practically superseded within the Mormon corporation. Under the judicial clause its courts were supreme.' McBride in *International Review*, Feb. 1882. Charters were also granted to the university and the Nauvoo legion. *Times and Seasons*, ii. 281.

country are hundreds of tributary farms and plantations. The population is from seven to fifteen thousand, varying with the ebb and flow of new converts and new colonizations.³

Conspicuous among the buildings, and chief architectural feature of the holy city, is the temple, glistening in white limestone upon the hill-top, a shrine in the western wilderness whereat all the nations of the earth may worship, whereat all the people may inquire of God and receive his holy oracles.⁴ Next in

³The blocks contain 'four lots of eleven by twelve rods each, making all corner lots. . . For three or four miles upon the river, and about the same distance back in the country, Nauvoo presents a city of gardens, ornamented with the dwellings of those who have made a covenant by sacrifice. . . It will be no more than probably correct, if we allow the city to contain between 700 and 800 houses, with a population of 14,000 or 15,000.' *Times and Seasons*, iii. 936. A correspondent of the *New York Herald* is a little wild when he writes about this time: 'The Mormons number in Europe and America about 150,000, and are constantly pouring into Nauvoo and the neighboring country. There are probably in and about this city and adjacent territories not far from 30,000.' Fifteen thousand in 1840 is the number given in *Mackay's The Mormons*, 115, as I mentioned in the last chapter. A correspondent's estimate in the *Times and Seasons*, in 1842, was for the city 7,000, and for the immediate surroundings 3,000. Phelps, in *The Prophet*, estimates the population during the height of the city's prosperity in 1844 at 14,000, of whom nine tenths were Mormons. Some 2000 houses were built the first year. Joseph Smith in *Times and Seasons*, March 1842, says: 'We number from six to eight thousand here, besides vast numbers in the county around, and in almost every county in the state.'

⁴The structure was 83 by 128 feet, and 60 feet high. The stone was quarried within city limits. There was an upper story and basement; and in the latter a baptismal font wrought after the manner of King Solomon's brazen sea. A huge tank, upon whose panels were painted various scenes, and ascent to which was made by stairs, was upborne by twelve oxen, beautifully carved, and overlaid with gold. 'The two great stories,' says a Mormon eyewitness, 'each have two pulpits, one at each end, to accommodate the Melchizedek and Aaronic priesthoods, graded into four rising seats, the first for the president of the elders and his two counsellors, the second for the president of the high priesthood and his two counsellors, and the third for the Melchizedek president and his two counsellors, and the fourth for the president of the whole church and his two counsellors. There are thirty hewn stone pilasters which cost about \$3,000 apiece. The base is a crescent new moon; the capitals, near 50 feet high; the sun, with a human face in bold relief, about two and a half feet broad, ornamented with rays of light and waves, surmounted by two hands holding two trumpets.' All was crowned by a high steeple surmounted with angel and trumpet. The cost was nearly \$1,000,000, and was met by tithes contributed by some in money or produce, and by others in labor. The four corner-stones of the temple were laid with much ceremony on the 6th of April, 1841, on the celebration of the anniversary of the church. Sidney Rigdon delivered the address, and upon the placing of the first stone, said: 'May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed—in the name of the father, and of the son, and of the holy

was modelled after the Roman legion. The men were well disciplined, brave, and efficient. These troops carried their name to Utah, where they were reorganized in May 1857.

Though all are soldiers, there are no dandy warriors in their midst. Each one returns after drill to his occupation—to his farm, factory, or merchandise. Among other workshops are a porcelain factory established by a Staffordshire company, two steam saw-mills, a steam flouring-mill, a foundry, and a tool-factory. A joint-stock company is organized under the style of the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association. Just outside the city is a community farm, worked by the poor for their own benefit; to each family in the city is allotted one acre of ground; the system of community of property does not obtain.

Most of the people in and about Nauvoo are Mormons, but not all. The population is made up chiefly from the farming districts of the United States and the manufacturing districts of England; though uneducated, unpolished, and superstitious, they are for the most part intelligent, industrious, competent, honest, and sincere.⁸ With a shrewd head to direct,

enstos, L. Woodworth; captains, D. B. Huntington, Samuel Hicks, Amos Davis, Marcellus Bates, Charles Allen, L. N. Scovil, W. M. Allred, Justus Morse, John F. Olney, Darwin Chase, C. M. Kreymer, and others. 'Col. A. P. Rockwood was drill-master. Rockwood was then a captain, but was afterward promoted to colonel of the militia, or host of Israel. I was then fourth corporal of a company. The people were regularly drilled and taught military tactics, so that they would be ready to act when the time came for returning to Jackson county, the promised land of our inheritance.' *Lee's Mormonism*, 112. 'Reviews were held from time to time, and flags presented, and Joseph appeared on all those occasions with a splendid staff, in all the pomp and circumstance of a full-blown military commander.' *Ferris' Utah and the Mormons*, 100-1. 'At the last dress parade of the legion, he was accompanied in the field by a display of ten of his spiritual wives or concubines, dressed in a fine uniform, and mounted on elegant white horses.' *Tucker's Mormonism*, 170. 'After the force reached Utah it was 'regularly drilled by competent officers, many of whom served in Mexico with the Mormon battalion under Gen. W. Scott. They are well armed, and perfectly fearless.' *Hyde's Mormonism*, 183. See further *Times and Seasons*, ii. 321-2, 417-18, 435, 517; iii. 654, 700-1, 718, 733-4, 921; *Stenhouse's Tell It All*, 306; *Deseret News*, April 15 and July 1, 1857, July 6, 1859; *Gunnison's Mormons*, 133; *Smucker's Hist. Mor.*, 149; *Kidder's Mormonism*, 182-9.

⁸Says the *St Louis Atlas* of September 1841: The people of Nauvoo 'have

like that of the prophet, a wisdom like his to concentrate, a power like his to say to ten thousand men, do this, and it is done, with plenty of cheap, virgin land, with a collective knowledge of all arts, and with habits of economy and industry, it were a wonder if they did not rapidly accumulate property, and some of them acquire wealth. This they do, though tithed by the church, and detested by the gentiles, and they prosper in a remarkable degree. Of course, in political, as in spiritual and pecuniary affairs, the prophet's word is law.

"Nauvoo is the best place in the world!" exclaims an enthusiastic saint. Nauvoo, the beautiful indeed! And "as to the facilities, tranquillities, and virtues of the city, they are not equalled on the globe." Here the saints find rest. "No vice is meant to be tolerated; no grog-shops allowed; nor would we have any trouble, if it were not for our lenity in suffering the world,⁹ as I shall call them, to come in and trade, and

been grossly misunderstood and shamefully libelled. . . . The present population is between eight and nine thousand, and of course it is the largest town in Illinois. The people are very enterprising, industrious, and thrifty. They are at least quite as honest as the rest of us in this part of the world, and probably in any other. Some peculiarities they have, no doubt. Their religion is a peculiar one; that is, neither Buddhism, nor Mahometanism, nor Judaism, nor Christianity, but it is a faith which they say encourages no vice nor immorality, nor departure from established laws and usages; neither polygamy, nor promiscuous intercourse, nor community of property. . . . Ardent spirits as a drink are not in use among them. . . . Tobacco, also, is a weed which they seem almost universally to despise. We don't know but that the Mormons ought to be expatriated for refusing to drink whiskey and chew tobacco; but we hope the question will not be decided hastily, nor until their judges have slept off the fumes of their own liquor and cigars.' 'They have enclosed large farms on the prairie ground, on which they have raised corn, wheat, hemp, etc., and all this they have accomplished within the short space of four years. I do not believe there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances. And here allow me to remark, that there are some here who have lately emigrated to this place, who have built themselves large and convenient homes in the town; others on their farms on the prairie, who, if they had remained at home, might have continued to live in rented houses all their days, and never once have entertained the idea of building one for themselves at their own expense.' *Smucker's Mormonism*, 159.

⁹Gentiles were not excluded from the holy city. In *Bennett's Hist. Saints*, 158, is given an ordinance, dated March 1, 1841, running as follows: 'Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the catholics, presbyterians, methodists, baptists, latter-day saints, quakers, episcopalian, universalists, unitarians, mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations whatever, shall have toleration and equal privileges in this city;

CHAPTER VII.

BRIGHAM YOUNG SUCCEEDS JOSEPH.

1844-1845.

THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION—BIOGRAPHY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG—HIS EARLY LIFE—CONVERSION—MISSIONARY WORK—MADE PRESIDENT OF THE TWELVE—HIS DEVOTION TO THE PROPHET—SIDNEY RIGDON AND BRIGHAM YOUNG RIVAL ASPIRANTS FOR THE PRESIDENCY—RIGDON'S CLAIMS—PUBLIC MEETINGS—BRIGHAM ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH—HIS CHARACTER—TEMPLE-BUILDING—FRESH DISASTERS—THE AFFAIR AT MORLEY—THE MEN OF QUINCY AND THE MEN OF CARTHAGE—THE MORMONS CONSENT TO ABANDON THEIR CITY.

UPON the death of Joseph Smith, one of the questions claiming immediate attention was, Who shall be his successor? It was the first time the question had arisen in a manner to demand immediate solution, and the matter of succession was not so well determined then as now, it being at present well established that upon the death of the president of the church the apostle eldest in ordination and service takes his place.

Personal qualifications would have much to do with it; rules could be established later. The first consideration now was to keep the church from falling in pieces. None realized the situation better than Brigham Young, who soon made up his mind that he himself was the man for the emergency. Then to make it appear plain to the brethren that God would have him take Joseph's place, his mind thus works: "The first thing that I thought of," he says, "was whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him

from the earth. Brother Orson Pratt sat on my left; we were both leaning back on our chairs. Bringing my hand down on my knee, I said, 'The keys of the kingdom are right here with the church.'" But who held the keys of the kingdom? This was the all-absorbing question that was being discussed at Nauvoo when Brigham and the other members of the quorum arrived at that city on the 6th of August, 1844.

Brigham Young was born at Whitingham, Windham county, Vermont, on the 1st of June, 1801. His father, John, a Massachusetts farmer, served as a private soldier in the revolutionary war, and his grandfather as surgeon in the French and Indian war.¹ In 1804 his family, which included nine children,² of whom he was then the youngest, removed to Sherburn, Chenango county, New York, where for a time hardship and poverty were their lot. Concerning Brigham's youth there is little worthy of record. Lack of means compelled him, almost without education, to earn his own livelihood, as did his brothers, finding employment as best they could. Thus, at the age of twenty-three, when he married he had learned how to work as farmer, carpenter, joiner, painter, and glazier, in the last of which occupations he was an expert craftsman.

In 1829 he removed to Mendon, Monroe county, where his father then resided; and here, for the first time, he saw the book of Mormon at the house of his brother Phineas, who had been a pastor in the reformed methodist church, but was now a convert to Mormonism.³

¹ Waite's *The Mormon Prophet and his Harem*. Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, 112, note, states that his grandfather was an officer in the revolutionary war; this is not confirmed by Mrs Waite, who quotes from Brigham's autobiography. Again, Nabby Howe was the maiden name of Brigham's mother, as given in his autobiography; while Linforth reads Nancy Howe; and Remy, *Jour. to G. S. L. City*, i. 413, Naleby Howe.

² Born as follow: Nancy, Aug. 6, 1786, Fanny, Nov. 8, 1787, Rhoda, Sept. 10, 1789, John, May 22, 1791, Nabby, Apr. 23, 1793, Susannah, June 7, 1795, Joseph, Apr. 7, 1797, Phineas, Feb. 16, 1799, and Brigham, June 1, 1801. Two others were born later: Louisa, Sept. 25, 1804, and Lorenzo Dow, Oct. 19, 1807.

³ In *Ibid.*, it is mentioned that before the organization of the latter-day

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPULSION FROM NAUVOO.

1845-1846.

A BUSY CITY—MEETING IN THE TEMPLE—SACRIFICE OF PROPERTY—DETACHMENTS MOVE FORWARD—A SINGULAR EXODUS—THE FIRST ENCAMPMENT—COOL PROPOSAL FROM BROTHER BRANNAN—THE JOURNEY—COURAGE AND GOOD CHEER—SWELLING OF THEIR NUMBERS—THE REMNANT OF THE SAINTS IN NAUVOO—ATTITUDE OF THE GENTILES—THE MORMONS ATTACKED—CONTINUED HOSTILITIES—THE FINAL DEPARTURES—THE POOR CAMP—A DESERTED CITY.

THE holy city now presented an exciting scene. Men were making ready their merchandise, and families preparing to vacate their homes. Hundreds were making tents and wagon covers out of cloth bought with anything they happened to have; companies were organized and numbered, each of which had its own wagon-shop, wheelwrights, carpenters, and cabinetmakers, who were all busily employed.¹ Green timber was prepared for spokes and felloes, some kiln-dried, and some boiled in salt and water. At the Nauvoo house shops were established as well as at the mason's hall and arsenal. Iron was brought from different parts of the country, and blacksmiths were at work night and day.²

Some three years previous, the prophet Joseph had ordered that there should not be another general con-

¹ Parley Pratt's calculation for an outfit of every family of 5 persons was 1 good wagon, 3 yoke cattle, 2 cows, 2 beef cattle, 3 sheep, 1,000 lbs flour, 20 lbs sugar, 1 rifle and ammunition, a tent and tent-poles, from 10 to 20 lbs seed to a family, from 25 to 100 lbs tools for farming, and a few other items, the cost being about \$250, provided they had nothing else but bedding and cooking utensils. *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 125.

² In December the drying-house of emigrating company no. 18 was burned to the ground, consuming \$300 worth of wagon timber. *Id.*, MS., Dec. 1845.

ference until it could be held in the temple. And now, on the 5th of October, 1845, five thousand persons assembled, and on the following day began the great conference, which lasted three days. The saints, however, were permitted but short enjoyment of their beautiful structure, a meagre reward for all the toil and money expended. Holiness to the Lord was the motto of it; and there was little else they could now carry hence; the hewn stone, the wood-work, and the brass they must leave behind. This building was to them as a temple "where the children of the last kingdom could come together to praise the Lord." As they cast one last gaze on their homes and the monuments reared to their faith, they asked, "Who is the God of the gentiles? Can he be our God?"³

In the same number of the *Times and Seasons* in which appeared a notice of this meeting was published a circular signed by Brigham Young, and addressed to the brethren scattered abroad throughout America, informing them of the impending change. "The exodus of the nations of the only true Israel from these United States to a far distant region of the west, where bigotry, intolerance, and insatiable oppression will have lost its power over them, forms a new epoch, not only in the history of the church, but of this nation."⁴

³ Kane, with the carelessness usual in his statements, says that the temple was completed and consecrated in May, and that the day after its consecration its ornaments were carried away. 'For that one day the temple shone resplendent in all its typical glories of sun, moon, and stars, and other abounding figured and lettered signs, hieroglyphs, and symbols; but that day only. The sacred rites of consecration ended, the work of removing the sacrasancta proceeded with the rapidity of magic. It went on through the night; and when the morning of the next day dawned, all the ornaments and furniture, everything that could provoke a sneer, had been carried off; and except some fixtures that would not bear removal, the building was dismantled to the bare walls. It was this day saw the departure of the last elders, and the largest band that moved in one company together. The people of Iowa have told me that from morning to night they passed westward like an endless procession. They did not seem greatly out of heart, they said; but at the top of every hill, before they disappeared, were to be seen looking back, like banished Moors, on their abandoned homes and the far-seen temple and its glittering spire.' *The Mormons*, 21.

⁴ *Times and Seasons*, vi. 1018. In this number is a notice, signed by Willard Richards, cutting off William Smith, the prophet's brother, for apostasy.

CHAPTER IX.

AT THE MISSOURI.

1846-1847.

**NATIVE RACES OF THE MISSOURI—THE POTTAWATTAMIES AND THE OMAHAS—
THE MORMONS WELCOMED AS BRETHREN—WAR WITH MEXICO—CALIFOR-
NIA TERRITORY—MEXICAN BOUNDARIES—APPLICATION TO THE UNITED
STATES GOVERNMENT FOR AID—AN OFFER TO SERVE AS SOLDIERS AC-
CEPTED—ORGANIZATION OF THE MORMON BATTALION—DEPARTURE OF
THE BATTALION—BOUNTY MONEY—MARCH ACROSS THE CONTINENT—
THE BATTALION IN CALIFORNIA—MATTERS ON THE MISSOURI.**

AMONG the savages on either side of the Missouri, the Pottawattamies on the east side and the Omahas on the west side, the outcasts from Nauvoo were warmly welcomed. "My Mormon brethren," said the chief Pied Riche,¹ "the Pottawattamie came sad and tired into this unhealthy Missouri bottom, not many years back, when he was taken from his beautiful country beyond the Mississippi, which had abundant game and timber and clear water everywhere. Now you are driven away in the same manner from your lodges and lands there, and the graves of your people. So we have both suffered. We must help one another, and the great spirit will help us both."

Extreme care was taken not to infringe in any way upon the rights of the Indians or the government. Brigham counselled the brethren to regard as sacred the burial customs of the natives; frequently their dead were deposited in the branches of trees, wrapped in buffalo robes and blankets, with pipes and trinkets

¹ Surnamed Le Clerc, on account of his scholarship.

beside them. At Cutler Park there were friendly negotiations made with Big Elk, chief of the Omahas, who said: "I am willing you should stop in my country, but I am afraid of my great father at Washington."²

As the United States pretended to hold the title to the land, it was thought that the Pottawattamies had no right to convey their timber to others; so Brigham enjoined that there should be no waste of timber within these limits, but that as much as was necessary might be used. A permit for passing through their territory, and for remaining while



ABOUT THE MISSOURI.

necessary, was obtained from Colonel Allen, who was acting for the United States.³

Although it was late in the season when the first bands of emigrants crossed the Missouri, some of them still moved westward as far as the Pawnee villages on Grand Island, intending to select a new home before winter. But the evil tidings from Nauvoo, and the destitute condition in which other parties of the

² 'The Omahas caused them some trouble, as they would steal with one hand while we fed them with the other.' *Hist. B. Young, MS.*, 46, Oct. 18th.

³ *Hist. B. Young, MS.*, 1846, 98-9. Maj. Harvey brought the Mormons at Winter Quarters letters from Washington, expecting them to leave the Pottawattamie lands in the spring. See cor., *Hist. B. Young, MS.*, 441-52.

CHAPTER X.

MIGRATION TO UTAH.

1847.

CAMP NEAR THE MISSOURI—PREPARATIONS AT WINTER QUARTERS—DEPARTURE OF THE PIONEER BAND—ELKHORN RENDEZVOUS—ROUTE AND ROUTINE—INCIDENTS OF JOURNEY—APPROACH TO ZION—IN THE CAÑON—HOSANNA! HALLELUJAH!—ENTRY INTO THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE—PLOUGHING AND PLANTING—PRAYING AND PRAISING—SITE FOR A CITY CHOSEN—TEMPLE BLOCK SELECTED—RETURN OF COMPANIES TO WINTER QUARTERS—THEIR MEETING WITH THE WESTWARD-BOUND—GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE.

IN the spring of 1847 we find the saints still in camp in the vicinity of the Missouri. Considering what they had been called upon to undergo, they were in good health and spirits. There is nothing like the spiritual in man to stimulate and sustain the physical; and this result is equally accomplished by the most exalted piety of the true believer, or by the most stupid fanaticism or barbaric ignorance; for all of us are true believers, in our own eyes. There is nothing like religion to sustain, bear up, and carry men along under trying circumstances. They make of it a fight; and they are determined that the world, the flesh, and the devil shall not conquer.

In the present instance it was of course a miracle in their eyes that so many of their number were preserved; it was to this belief, and to the superhuman skill and wisdom of their leader, and partly to their own concert of action, that their preservation was due.

Frequent meetings had been held by the council to consider plans for further explorations by a pioneer

band.¹ A call was made for volunteers of young and able-bodied men, and in April a company was organized, with Brigham Young as lieutenant-general, Stephan Markham colonel, John Pack major, and fourteen captains. The company consisted of 143 persons, including three women, wives of Brigham Young, Lorenzo Young, and Heber C. Kimball. They had 73 wagons drawn by horses and mules, and loaded chiefly with grain and farming implements,² and with provisions which were expected to last them for the return journey.

Early in April a detachment moved out of Winter Quarters for the rendezvous on the Elkhorn, and on the 14th the pioneer band, accompanied by eight members of the council,³ began the long journey westward in search of a site for their new Zion. If none were found, they were to plant crops and establish a settlement at some suitable spot which might serve as a base for future explorations.⁴

The route was along the north branch of the Platte, and for more than 500 miles the country was bare of

¹The octagon house of Dr Richards in which the council met is described as a queer-looking thing, much resembling a New England potato-heap in time of frost. 'Council voted a load of wood for each day they met in his house.' *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 1847, 2.

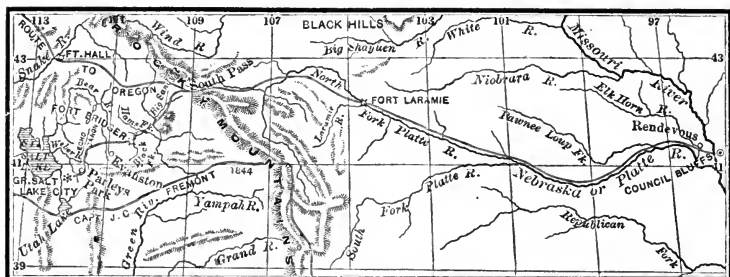
²*Woodruff's Journal*, MS., Apr. 17, 1847.

³John Taylor, Parley Pratt, and Orson Hyde were engaged in missionary work abroad. *Pratt's Autobiog.*, 383.

⁴The impression was that they would reach as soon as possible 'the foot of the mountains somewhere in the region of the Yellowstone River, perhaps at the fork of Tongue River, say 2 days' ride north of the Oregon road, and a week's travel west of Ft Laramie. . . I informed Bishop Miller that when we moved hence it would be to the great basin.' *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 79. No one knew whither they were going, not even the leaders. 'We have learned by letter to Elder G. D. Watt that a company left Council Bluffs for the mountains on the 12th of April to seek a location for a stake in Zion.' *Millennial Star*, ix. 235. 'The pioneers started for the mountains to seek out a resting-place for the saints.' *Brown's Testimonies for the Truth*, 26. In *Niles' Register*, lxxii. 206 (May 29, 1847), we read: 'Their intention is to proceed as far as possible up to the period of necessary planting-time, when they will stop and commence a crop. The leaders will make but a short delay at this point, and will proceed over into California and communicate with or join the disbanded forces of the Mormon battalion, whose period of service will expire about the 1st of July next.' 'When President Young was questioned by any of the pioneers as to the definite point of our destination, all he could say to them was, that he would know it when he should see it.' Erastus Snow, in *Utah Pioneers*, 33d ann., 44.

vegetation. Roused by the call of the bugle at five o'clock in the morning, they assembled for prayers; then they breakfasted, and upon a second call of the bugle at seven o'clock they started, and travelled about twenty miles for the day. At night the note of the bugle sent each to his own wagon to prayers and at nine o'clock to bed. They rested on Sunday, giving up the day to fasting and prayer. They were careful in marching to preserve order, with loaded guns and powder-horn ready. And the better to present a compact front, the wagons were kept well together, usually two abreast where the ground would permit, and the men were required to walk by the wagons.

They felled cotton-wood trees for their horses and

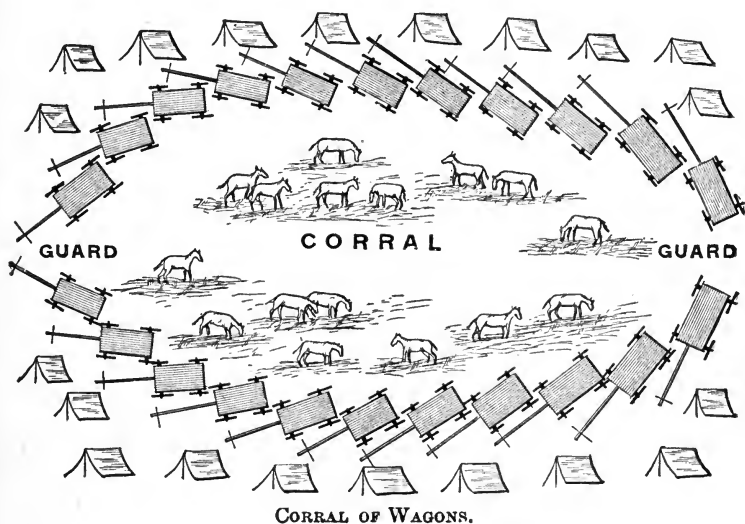


ROUTE OF THE MORMONS.

cattle to browse upon, and at last were obliged to feed them from the grain, flour, and biscuit they carried, subsisting meanwhile themselves on game and fish. In the valley of the Platte roamed such vast herds of buffaloes that it was often necessary to send parties in advance and clear the road before the teams could pass. At night the wagons would be drawn up in a semicircle on the bank, the river forming a defence upon one side. The tongues of the wagons were on the outside, and a fore wheel of each was placed against the hind wheel of the wagon before it; all the horses and cattle were brought inside of the enclosure. The corral thus formed was oblong, with an

opening at either end, where was stationed a guard. The tents were pitched outside of the corral.⁵

In crossing the Loup River on the 24th, they used a leathern boat made for this expedition, and called *The Revenue Cutter*. On the 4th of May letters were sent back to Winter Quarters by a trader named Charles Beaumont. On the 22d they encamped at Ancient Bluff Ruins. Here the spirits of the people reached such high hilarity that their commanding



officer was obliged to rebuke them, whereupon all covenanted to humble themselves.⁶

Early in June they reached the Black Hills by way of Fort Laramie.⁷ Here they rested for two or three

⁵ Woodruff's Journal, MS., April 19, 1847. On May 4th they 'established a post-office and guide system for the benefit of the next camp following. Every ten miles...we put up a guide-board.'

⁶ 'I have told the few who did not belong to the church that they were not at liberty to introduce cards, dancing, or iniquity of any description.' Hist. B. Young, MS., 1847, 90.

⁷ Fort John, or Laramie, was occupied by 'James Bordeaux and about eighteen French half-breeds and a few Sioux....There had been no rain for the last two years...Two or three of us visited Mr Bordeaux at the fort.

CHAPTER XI.

IN THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

1848.

FOOD AND RAIMENT—HOUSES—HOME MANUFACTURES—THE FORT—WILD BEASTS—CANNON FROM SUTTER'S FORT—INDIAN CHILDREN FOR SALE—MEASLES—POPULATION—MILLS AND FARMING MACHINERY—THE PLAGUE OF CRICKETS—THEY ARE DESTROYED BY GULLS—SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS—THE HARVEST FEAST—IMMIGRATION—FIVE THOUSAND SAINTS GATHERED IN THE VALLEY—FENCING AND FARMING—DISTRIBUTION OF LOTS—ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT—ASSOCIATION FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF WILD BEASTS.

At the opening of January 1848, the saints were housed, clad, and fed in moderate comfort, and general content prevailed.¹ The season was exceptionally mild; there were occasional light falls of snow, but not enough to interfere with ploughing and sowing,² and a large tract of land was partially enclosed and planted with wheat and vegetables.

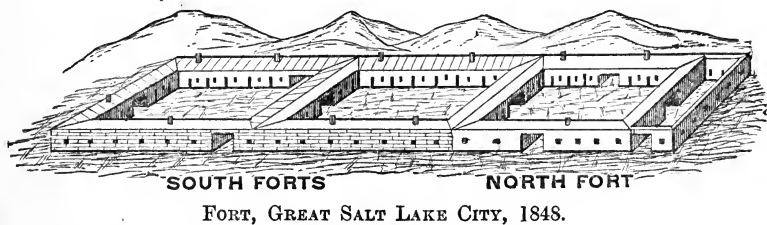
So many people were now in the valley that notwithstanding the abundant crops food at length became scarce. Families weighed out their flour and allowed themselves so much a day. The wheat was ground at a mill on City Creek, but as there was no bolting-cloth, the shorts and bran could not be separated. The beef was very poor,³ as most of the cattle

¹ Parley P. Pratt says: 'Here life was as sweet as the holidays, as merry as in the Christian palaces and mansions of those who had driven us to the mountains.'

² 'It was a strange sight to see sometimes furrows on one side and snow on the other. In Feb. men worked out of doors in their shirt sleeves.' *Horne's Migrations*, MS., 24.

³ 'It was so tough that Brother Taylor suggested we must grease the saw to make it work.' *Horne's Migrations*, MS., 26.

tended the south divisions, which were connected with the old fort by gates. Wagon-boxes were also brought into line, and served for habitations until better accommodations were provided. The houses were built of logs, and were placed close together, the roofs slanting inward, and all the doors and windows being on the inside, with a loop-hole to each room on the outside. As everything indicated a dry climate, the roofs were made rather flat, and great inconvenience resulted. In March the rains were very heavy, and umbrellas were used to protect women and children while cooking, and even in bed. The clay found in the bottoms near the fort made excellent plaster, but would not stand exposure to rain, and quickly melted. All bread-stuffs were carefully gathered into the centre of the rooms, and protected with buffalo skins obtained from the Indians. The rooms in the outer lines all adjoined, and many of the families had several rooms. On the interior cross-lines rooms were built on both sides, the streets being eight rods wide.



There were serious depredations committed by wolves, foxes, and catamounts, and great annoyance occasioned by the howling of some of these animals.⁸ Further discomfort was caused by innumerable swarms of mice. Digging cavities and running about under the earthen floor, they caused the ground to tremble, and when the rain loosened the stones of the roofs,

⁸ 'One night soon after our arrival I spread some strychnine about, and in the morning found fourteen white wolves dead.' *Lorenzo Young's Ex.*, MS., 8.

CHAPTER XII.

IN THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

1849.

FOOD SUPPLY AND SHELTER—BUILDING LOTS—CURRENCY ISSUE—BANK NOTES AND COINAGE—PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS—WIDE AREA OF THE CITY—SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE PIONEERS—FESTIVALS AND AMUSEMENTS—LABOR A DUTY AMONG THE SAINTS—EFFECT OF THE CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY—IMMIGRATION—CARRYING COMPANY—CALIFORNIA-BOUND EMIGRANTS—THEIR TRAFFIC WITH THE MORMONS—PRODUCTS AND PRICES—GOLD-HUNTING FROWNED UPON BY THE CHURCH.

THROUGHOUT the winter of 1848-9 food was scarce among the settlers. Many still subsisted mainly on roots, thistles, and even on rawhides.¹ Milk, flesh, and the small quantity of breadstuffs that remained were, however, distributed among the poor in such quantities as to prevent actual starvation. On April 1, 1849, each household was required to state the smallest allowance of breadstuffs that would suffice until the forth-coming harvest. Some received half a pound a day, and others four ounces.²

¹ 'Many were necessitated to eat rawhides, and to dig sago and thistle roots for mouths to subsist upon.' *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 1849, 95.

² The committee on breadstuffs reported on the 8th of Feb. that there was ⁷⁸₁₀₀ lb. per capita for the next five months. *Utah Early Records*, MS., 45. 'In the former part of Feb. the bishops took an inventory of the breadstuff in the valley, when was reported a little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per day for each soul, until the 9th of July; and considerable was known to exist which was not reported. Hence while some were nearly destitute others had abundance. The price of corn since harvest has been \$2; some has sold for \$3; at present there is none in the market at any price. Wheat has ranged from \$4 to \$5, and potatoes from \$6 to \$20, a bushel; and though not to be bought at present, it is expected that there will be a good supply for seed by another year.' General Epistle of the Twelve, in *Frontier Guardian*, May 30, 1849. 'Those persons who had imparted measurably to those who had not, so that all extremity of suffering from hunger was avoided.' *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 1849, 95.

But from the twelve came a stern rebuke. "The true use of gold is for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes; and when the saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough, the Lord will open the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of his people. Until then, let them not be over-anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's store-house, and he will open the doors thereof when and where he pleases."⁴³

President John Smith wrote to the saints in California in March 1848, urging them to gather at the Great Salt Lake, "that they might share in the blessings to be conferred on the faithful; and warned them against settling down at ease in California with an eye and a half upon this world and its goods, and half an eye dimly set towards Zion on account of the high mountains and the privations to be endured by the saints."

"If we were to go to San Francisco and dig up chunks of gold," said Brigham to the returned battalion on the 1st of October, 1848, "or find it in the valley, it would ruin us." In an address on the sabbath he said: "I hope the gold mines will be no nearer than eight hundred miles... There is more delusion and the people are more perfectly crazy on this continent than ever before... If you elders of Israel want to go to the gold mines, go and be damned. If you go, I would not give a picayune to keep you from damnation."⁴⁴ "I advise the corrupt, and all who want, to go to California and not come back, for I will not fellowship them... Prosperity and riches blunt the feelings of man. If the people were united, I would send men to get the gold who would care no more about it than the dust under their feet, and then we would gather millions into the church..."

⁴³ Second General Epistle of the Twelve, dated Salt Lake City, Oct. 12, 1849, in *Frontier Guardian*, Dec. 26, 1849.

⁴⁴ *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 1849, 100-2, 123.

CHAPTER XIII.

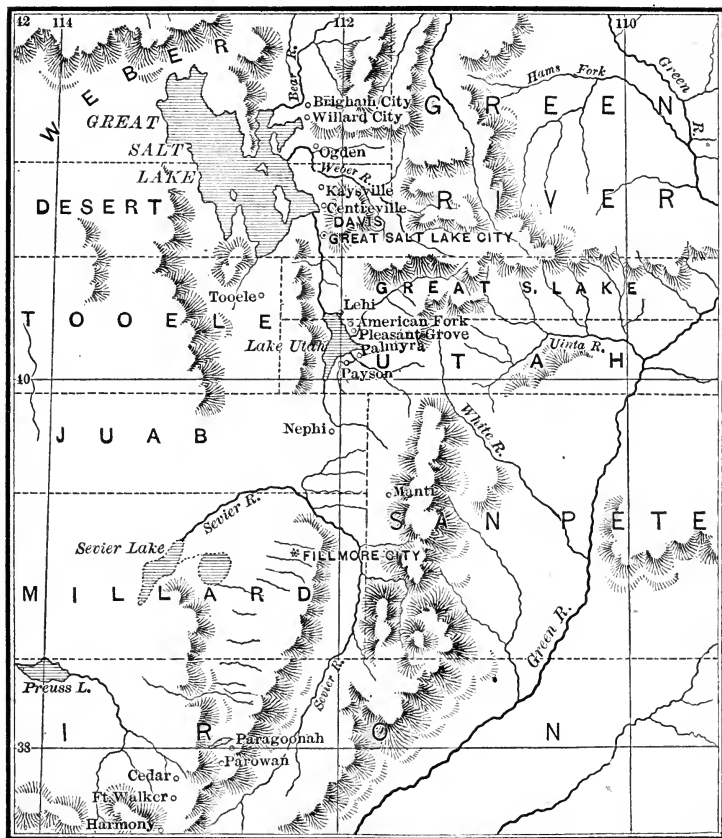
SETTLEMENT AND OCCUPATION OF THE COUNTRY.

1847-1852.

FOUNDING OF CENTREVILLE—BOUNTIFUL—OGDEN—LYNNE—EASTON—MARIOTSVILLE—SAN PETE—PROVO—INDIAN WAR—WALLED CITIES—EVANSVILLE—LEHI—BATTLE CREEK—PLEASANT GROVE—AMERICAN FORK—PAYSON—NEPHI—MANTI—CHIEF WALKER—FILLMORE—SITE CHOSEN FOR THE CAPITAL—TOOELE—GRANTSVILLE—KAYSVILLE—LITTLE SALT LAKE—PAROWAN—CEDAR CITY—PARAGOONAH—FORTS WALKER AND HARMONY—BOX ELDER CREEK—BRIGHAM CITY—WILLARD CITY—SAN BERNARDINO IN CALIFORNIA.

IN the autumn of 1847 one Thomas Grover arrived with his family on the bank of a stream twelve miles north of Salt Lake City, and now called Centreville Creek. His intention was to pasture stock for the winter; and for this purpose a spot was chosen where the stream spreading over the surface forms plats of meadow-land, the soil being a black, gravelly loam. Here Grover, joined by others in the spring, resolved to remain, though in the neighborhood were encamped several bands of Indians, and this notwithstanding that as yet there was no white settlement north of Salt Lake City. Land was ploughed and sown in wheat and vegetables, the crops being more promising than those to the south. But in May of the following year the settlers were startled, not by the war-whoop of the Utahs, but by hordes of black monster crickets, swarming down from the bench-lands, as at Salt Lake City, and bringing destruction on field and garden. They turned out to do battle with the foe; ditches were dug around the grain-fields, and the

water of the stream diverted into them, while men, women, and children, armed with clubs, checked the advance of the devouring host. Enough of the crop was saved to supply the wants of the settlers, and their energy, on this occasion, coupled with a supposed



SETTLEMENTS AT THE END OF 1852.

miraculous visitation of gulls, probably saved a foretaste of the disaster of 1848.¹ A site for a town was

¹After this incident the water in the creek began to fail, thus for a time preventing the growth of the settlement. In 1880 there was a good flow of water, sufficient for the wants of forty families, with their orchards, gardens, and farm lands. N. T. Porter, in *Utah Sketches*, MS., 177.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, SOCIETY.

1850-1852.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT OF UTAH—CONFIGURATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY—ITS LANDS AND WATERS—FLORA AND FAUNA—STATE UNIVERSITY—CURRICULUM—EDUCATIONAL IDEAS—LIBRARY—PERIODICALS—TABERNAACLE AND TEMPLE—NEW FORT—PROGRESS OF THE USEFUL ARTS—MILLS, FACTORIES, AND MANUFACTURES—FARM PRODUCTS—TRAFFIC—POPULATION—REVENUE—MORTALITY—HEALTHFUL AIRS AND MEDICINAL SPRINGS.

In the year 1850 Utah, bounded on the south and east by New Mexico, Kansas, and Nebraska, on the west by California, on the north by Oregon, which then included Idaho, was one of the largest territories in the United States. Its length from east to west was 650 miles, its breadth 350 miles, and its area 145,000,000 acres. The portion known as the great basin, beyond which were no settlements in 1852, has an elevation of 4,000 to 5,000 feet, and is surrounded and intersected by mountain ranges, the highest peaks of the Humboldt Range near its centre being more than 5,000 feet, and of the Wasatch on the east about 7,000 feet, above the level of the basin.

For 300 miles along the western base of the Wasatch Range is a narrow strip of alluvial land.¹ Elsewhere in the valley the soil is not for the most part fertile until water is conducted to it, and some of the alkali washed out. Rain seldom falls in spring

¹ *Gunnison's The Mormons*, 15.

taxable property at the latter date was \$1,160,883.80, or an average of more than \$400 per capita. The entire revenue amounted to \$26,690.58,²³ of which sum \$9,725.87 was expended for public improvements, the encouragement of industries, or educational purposes.

Little more than five years had elapsed since the pioneer band entered the valley of Great Salt Lake, and now the settlers found themselves amidst plenty and comfort in the land of promise, where until their arrival scarce a human being was to be seen, save the Indians whose clothing was the skins of rabbits and whose food was roasted crickets.²⁴ There was no destitution in their midst;²⁵ there was little sickness.²⁶ In these and some other respects, the wildest misstatements have been made by certain gentile writers, among them Mr Ferris, who, as we shall see, was appointed secretary for Utah.²⁷ In this pure show as soon as possible a population of 100,000, which would entitle them to claim admission as a state.

²³ Not more than one tenth was collected in cash, payment being usually made in grain. *Contributor*, 332. 'Securing a territorial revenue of \$23,000, including merchants' licenses and tax on liquors.' *Hist. B. Young*, MS., 1852, 2.

²⁴ The most exposed parts of the country are annually run over by the fires set by the Indians to kill and roast the crickets, which they gather in summer for winter food.' *Gunnison's The Mormons*, 21.

²⁵ The country was canvassed to ascertain how many inmates there would be for a poor-house, then projected. Only two were found, and the Mormons concluded that it was not yet time for such an institution. *Id.*, 34.

²⁶ The number of deaths in the territory during the year ending June 1, 1850, was 239. *U. S. Census, 1850*, 997; and in Salt Lake county, which virtually meant Salt Lake City, 121; in both, the mortality was therefore less than 20 per thousand, or about the average death-rate in San Francisco during recent years. Moreover, the population of Utah included a very large proportion of infants. Of 64 deaths reported in the *Deseret News* of March 8, 1851, 34 occurred between the ages of one and ten.

²⁷ *Utah and the Mormons; the History, Government, Doctrines, Customs, and Prospects of the Latter-day Saints; from personal observation during a six months' residence at Great Salt Lake City.* By Benjamin G. Ferris, late secretary of Utah Territory, New York, 1854. Mr Ferris is not the first one whom in his own opinion a six months' residence in the west justifies in writing a book. It was the winter of 1852-3 which he spent there, and while professing that he writes wholly from an anti-Mormon standpoint, as a rule he is comparatively moderate in his expressions. The illustrations in this volume are many of them the same which are found in several other works. Beginning with the physical features of Utah, he goes through the whole range of Mormon history, and concludes with chapters on government, doctrines, polygamy, book of Mormon proselytizing, and society. While sometimes interesting, there is little original information; and aside from what the author saw during his residence in Utah, the book has no special value.

CHAPTER XV.

MORMONISM AND POLYGAMY.

WHAT IS MORMONISM?—TENETS OF THE CHURCH—SACRED BOOKS AND PERSON-
AGES—ORGANIZATION—PRIESTHOOD—FIRST PRESIDENCY—THE TWELVE
APOSTLES—PATRIARCHS—ELDERS, BISHOPS, PRIESTS, TEACHERS, AND
DEACONS—THE SEVENTIES—STAKES AND WARDS—MARRIAGE—TEMPLE
BUILDING—TABERNACLE—POLITICAL ASPECT—POLYGAMY AS A CHURCH
TENET—CELESTIAL MARRIAGE—ATTITUDE AND ARGUMENTS OF CIVILI-
ZATION—POLYGAMY'S REPLY—ETHICS AND LAW—THE CHARGE OF DIS-
LOYALTY—PROPOSED REMEDIES.

WE are now prepared to ask the question with some degree of intelligence, What is Mormonism? In formulating an answer, we must consider as well the political as the religious idea. I will examine the latter first.

Mormonism in its religious aspect is simply the acceptance of the bible, the whole of it, literally, and following it to its logical conclusions.

As the Christian world has advanced in civilization and intelligence these two thousand years or so, it has gradually left behind a little and a little more of its religion, first of the tenets of the Hebraic record, and then somewhat even of those of the later dispensation. Long before religionists began to question as myths the stories of Moses, and Jonah, and Job, they had thrown aside as unseemly blood-sacrifice and burnt-offerings, sins of uncleanness, the stoning of sabbath-breakers, the killing in war of women, children, and prisoners, the condemnation of whole nations to perpetual bondage, and many other revolting customs of the half-savage Israelites sanctioned by holy writ.

gresses of heinousness; some requiring only public confession and promised reformation by way of atonement, whilst others are characterized by an enormity so vast that pardon on earth is impossible. Of the first class are all minor offences against church discipline, breach of which has been publicly acknowledged by nearly every leader, from Joseph himself down to the humblest official.

For the proper carrying out of the instructions revealed in the sacred books, an organization has been effected in these latter days, based upon books and on former organizations. There are two principal priesthoods, the Melchisedek and the Aaronic, the latter including the Levitical. The Melchisedek is the higher, comprising apostles, patriarchs, high-priests, seventies, and elders. It holds the right of presidency, with authority to administer in all the offices, ordinances, and affairs of the church. It holds the keys of all spiritual blessings, receives the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, whose doors are ever open, and holds communion with God the father, Jesus Christ the mediator, Joseph Smith the prophet, and all departed saints.⁶

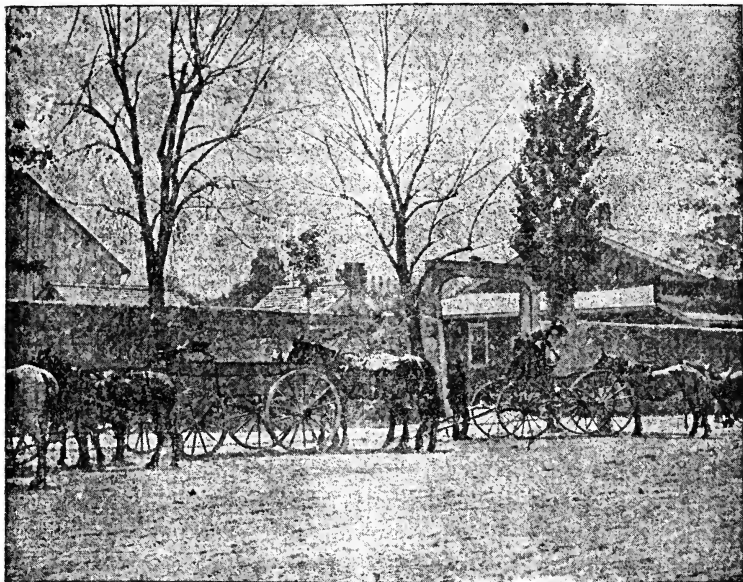
The Aaronic is a subordinate priesthood, being an appendage to the Melchisedek, and acting under its

rose's Blood Atonement, passim. See also *Lee's Morm.*, 282-3; *Morm. Proph.*, 157-60; *Young's Wife No. 19*, 182-99; *Paddock's La Tour*, 305-8; *Bertrand's Mem. Morm.*, 139-72, 250-8, 296-316.

⁶ In regard to the two priesthoods, the Melchisedek and the Aaronic, or Levitical, all authority in the church is subordinate to the first, which holds the right of presidency and has power over all the offices in the church. The presidency of the high-priesthood of this order has the right to officiate in all the offices of the church. High-priests are authorized to officiate in any lower positions in the church, as well as in their own office. Elders are of this priesthood, and are authorized to officiate instead of high-priests, in the absence of the latter. The twelve apostles are charged with the duty of ordaining all the subordinate officers of the church, and also with its missionary work. Together they form a quorum whose authority equals that of the first presidency, but action by either body must be unanimous. A majority may form a quorum when circumstances render it impossible to assemble the whole body. They also constitute a travelling, presiding high-council, under the direction of the presidency of the church, and it is their duty to ordain ministers in all large branches. The seventies are also missionaries—assistants to the twelve, and united they are equal in authority with the twelve.

building or other church purposes, and for the support of those engaged in church business. There are no salaried preachers. Tithing is paid in kind to the bishop, who renders a strict account; the whole finan-

ten days later by another, in which it was declared that the church fund should be disposed of by a council composed of the first presidency, the bishop and his council, and the high-council. This revelation, which is not given in the earliest editions of *Doctrine and Covenants*, will be found, however, on p. 383 of the edition of 1876, and also in the *Mil. Star*, xvi. 183. The twelve, in an epistle



TITHING HOUSE. SALT LAKE CITY.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Burnes.]

Engraved for the November Magazine of American History, 1889.

dated Nauvoo, Dec. 13, 1841, direct that all money and other property designed for tithings be paid to President Joseph Smith, trustee in trust. *Times and Seasons*, iii. 627. Smith had been chosen to this office some time before by a general conference, at Quincy, Ill. *Id.*, ii. 579. After Smith, each president has held the position in turn. W. Richards, editor of the *Deseret News*, describes the system of accounts in use at the general tithing-office, in his number of Nov. 29, 1851. A debtor and credit account was kept on a ledger, with all persons who paid tithing. When an account was settled in full, the name was transferred to the general tithing record, or the book of 'The Law of the Lord,' and a certificate of non-indebtedness given to the person paying, which was evidence in case of a demand from the bishop of his ward. Four kinds of certificates were issued at this time: one for property tithing due previous to Sept. 10, 1851; one for property tithing due in accordance with the vote of a conference of the date mentioned; and one each for labor and produce tithing.

The governor, in his message to the legislature in 1882, stated that tithing should be prohibited. The message was referred to a committee, which reported that the question being one of a purely religious character did not call for legislative action. 'The payment of tithing, like contributions for missionary, charita-

CHAPTER XVI.

MISSIONS AND IMMIGRATION.

1830-1883.

MORMON MISSIONARIES—PARLEY PRATT AND HIS COLLEAGUES—MISSIONARY LABOR IN CANADA—IN GREAT BRITAIN—MISSIONARIES IN EUROPE—AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD—THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATION FUND—A GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE—FROM LIVERPOOL TO SALT LAKE CITY FOR FIFTY DOLLARS—EMIGRANT SHIPS—REPORT OF A LIVERPOOL MANAGER—THE PASSAGE TO NEW ORLEANS—OVERLAND TRAVEL—CLASSES OF EMIGRANTS—GEORGE A. SMITH'S COMPANIES AT SOUTH PASS—THE HAND-CART EMIGRATION—BIOGRAPHICAL.

OF the twenty-five or thirty thousand latter-day saints gathered in the valley of the Great Salt Lake at the close of the year 1852, less than one third came from Nauvoo; nearly seven thousand proselytes had arrived from various parts of Europe, and the remainder consisted principally of converts made in the United States.¹ As to the number of those who

¹ The pioneer band included, as we have seen, 143 members. Parley Pratt's companies, which arrived in Sept. 1847, mustered 1,540. In August 1848 the inhabitants at Salt Lake City were estimated at nearly 1,800, and there were at this date no other settlements with any considerable population. The emigrants from Winter Quarters during the autumn of this year numbered 2,393, and in 1849, 1,400. Smaller bands arrived from time to time, but with the close of the latter year the migration from Nauvoo practically came to an end. The number of Mormons from Nauvoo gathered in the valley at this date may be roughly estimated at not more than 8,000, for there were still large numbers scattered throughout the western states. According to the statistics of emigration from Great Britain and Europe, in *Linforth's Route from Liverpool*, 14-15, 2,877 proselytes left the United Kingdom between 1846 and 1849. This would make a total of 10,877. As the reader will remember, the entire population is stated at 11,380 in the *U. S. Census Rept* of 1850. Add to this number 3,714 emigrants who arrived from Great Britain and Europe between 1850 and 1852, as reported in Linforth's tables, we have a total of 15,094. The remainder were not all converts from the U. S., for there was a considerable number of persons who were not Mormons, probably 500 in all.

The Mormons objected to take passage in ships which carried other emigrants; or, if they embarked in such vessels, it was always arranged that a partition should be built to separate them from the gentiles. The dietary was on a scale⁵² that gave to most of them better fare than that to which they had before been accustomed. Many of the vessels chartered for New Orleans were of large tonnage, some of them carrying as many as a thousand passengers. When on board, the brethren were divided into wards, each with its bishop and two councillors, who were implicitly obeyed. The centre of the ship was occupied by married couples, single men being placed in the bow and single women in the stern. Strict discipline was enforced on the voyage.⁵³ Divine service was held each day, morning and evening, when the weather was favorable, and on Sundays an awning was spread over the main deck, and spare spars so arranged as to furnish seats. Among many of the companies were excellent choirs, which rendered the church music; and during the passage there were frequent entertainments, concerts, and dance-parties, in which the captain and officers of the ship participated.

After landing, the same organization was maintained. Remaining for a few days at New Orleans, the emigrants were conveyed in companies by steamer to St Louis, and thence proceeded to Council Bluffs.⁵⁴ Here

on warm days all sick persons, whether willing or not, were brought into the air and sunshine.' *Linforth's Route from Liverpool*, 25. 'For each party were appointed watchmen (or committeemen) to see that no improprieties occurred among the people, or between our people and the sailors.' *Richards' Narr.*, MS., 31. In 1855 the line of route was changed to Philadelphia and New York, and thence to Cincinnati. *Richards' Incidents in Utah Hist.*, MS., 6.

⁵² For each adult, weekly, 2½ lbs bread or biscuit, 1 lb. wheat flour, 5 lbs oatmeal, 2 lbs rice, ½ lb. sugar, 2 oz. tea, 2 oz. salt. Three quarts of water were allowed per diem. *Linforth's Route from Liverpool*, 20. Twenty pounds of breadstuffs per capita and an allowance of butter and cheese were provided by the Mormon superintendent. *Mackay, The Mormons*, 270. Meat was often issued in lieu of meal or bread.

⁵³ All were required to be in their berths at 8 o'clock, and before 7 the beds were made and the decks swept. *Mackay, The Mormons*, 272.

⁵⁴ In the *Deseret News*, May 29, June 12, 1852, and the *Juvenile Instructor*, xiv. 143, is an account of a boiler explosion that occurred on board a steamer from St Louis, with a list of those who were killed by the accident.

CHAPTER XVII.

UTAH AS A TERRITORY.

1849-1853.

NEED OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE STATE OF DESERET ORGANIZED—MEMORIALS FOR ADMISSION INTO THE UNION—PROPOSED CONSOLIDATION WITH CALIFORNIA—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE—BABBIT'S RECEPTION AT WASHINGTON—THE STATE OF DESERET BEFORE CONGRESS—ACT TO ESTABLISH A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—APPOINTMENT OF OFFICIALS—ILL FEELING BETWEEN THEM AND THE MORMONS—THE OFFICIALS DEPART FOR WASHINGTON—MEASURES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—STANSBURY'S SURVEY—THE GUNNISON MASSACRE—INDIAN OUTBREAKS—THE WALKER WAR—MEXICAN SLAVE-TRADERS.

UNTIL the year 1849 the Mormons were entirely under the control of their ecclesiastical leaders, regarding the presidency not only as their spiritual head, but as the source of law in temporal matters. Disputes were settled by the bishops, or, as they were also termed, magistrates of wards, appointed by the presidency. The brotherhood discountenanced litigation, as before mentioned, but the population did not consist entirely of members of the church. There was already in their midst a small percentage of gentile citizens, gathered, as we have seen, from nearly all the civilized nations of the earth. It was probable that, as the resources of the territory were developed, this number would increase in greater ratio, and it was not to be expected that they would always remain content without some form of civil government. Not infrequently litigation arose among the gentiles, or between Mormon and gentile; and though strict justice may have been done by the bishops, it was

to provide a civil government for any portion of the territory ceded by the republic of Mexico; that the revolver and bowie-knife have so far been the law of the land; and that, since the gold discovery, many thousands have emigrated to California, all well supplied with the implements and munitions of war. Fears are expressed that, through the failure to provide civil jurisdiction, political aspirants may subject the government to great loss of blood and treasure in extending its authority over this portion of the national domain. The memorial declares that, for their own security, and for the preservation of the rights of the United States, the people of the state of Deseret have organized a provisional government, under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained;¹³ also that there is now a sufficient number of individuals to support a state government, and that they have erected at their own expense a hall of legislature which will bear comparison with those in the older states. "Your memorialists therefore ask your honorable body to favorably consider their interests; and if consistent with the constitution and usages of the federal government, that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the state of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other states, or to such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret; and upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegate be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the congress of the United States."¹⁴

¹³ Then follow two clauses in the preamble in which are mentioned the natural barriers between the state of Deseret and other portions of the Union, and the importance of meting out the boundaries of states and territories in such a manner that the heads of departments may be able to communicate with all parts of the U. S. territory with as little delay as possible. Next comes a brief homily on the science of government and its application to the state of Deseret. A copy of the memorial will be found in *Id.*, 87-90.

¹⁴ The assembly at S. L. City resolved that 2,000 copies of the memorial, together with copies of the constitution, and an abstract of all records, jour-

ordered to file a petition, in which the request was couched in legal form and phrase, no further action was taken. Finally, on the 28th of September, the secretary, and judges Brandebury and Brocchus, set forth for Washington, taking with them the territorial seal, the records, documents, and funds, which were returned to the proper authorities.⁴⁴ On the follow-



TERRITORIAL SEAL.

⁴⁴ *Young's Despatch to Fillmore*, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 32d Cong. 1st Sess., v. no. 25, pp. 28-32. See also *Utah Early Records*, MS., 249-51. Stenhouse says that on their return Harris and his colleagues published an account of the matter, remarking 'that polygamy monopolized all the women, which made it very inconvenient for the federal officers to reside there.' This remark disgusted the authorities, and the officials met with a cool reception at Washington. *Rocky Mountain Saints*, 277-8. Their official report will be found in *House Ex. Doc.*, 32d Cong. 1st Sess., v. no. 25, pp. 8-22. The principal charge alleged against the Mormons was that a citizen of Utica, N. Y., named James Munroe, while on his way to S. L. City, was murdered by one of the saints, that his remains were brought into the city and buried without an inquest, and that the murderer was not arrested. There is no proof of this statement. In the *Utah Early Records*, MS., 161-3, we have a synopsis of their report, which was afterward circulated among the people. They alleged that they had been compelled to withdraw in consequence of the lawless acts and seditious tendencies of Brigham Young and the majority of the residents, that the Mormon church overshadowed and controlled the opinions, actions, property, and lives of its members—disposing of the public lands on its own terms, coining and issuing money at will, openly sanctioning polygamy, exacting tithes from members and onerous taxes from non-members, penetrating and supervising social and business circles, and requiring implicit obedience to the council of the church as a duty paramount to all the obligations of morality, society, allegiance, and law. On the other side, we have in *Id.*, 148-158, a copy of the letter addressed by Brigham to the president. After reviewing his proceedings and policy since taking the oath of office, the governor says: 'Mr Harris informed me, in a conversation which I had with him, that he had private instructions designed for no eye but his own, to watch every movement, and not pay out any funds unless the same should be strictly legal, according to his own judgment.' He states that there are none more friendly

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GOVERNMENT IN ARMS.

1853-1857.

BRIGHAM AS DICTATOR—UTAH SEEKS ADMISSION AS A STATE—DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE SAINTS—CONFLICTING JUDICIARIES—THE NEW FEDERAL OFFICIALS—DISPUTES WITH JUDGE DRUMMOND—COLONEL STEPTOE—AN EXPEDITION ORDERED TO UTAH—OFFICIAL BLUNDERS—THE TROOPS ASSEMBLE AT FORT LEAVENWORTH—HOCKADAY AND MAGRAW'S MAIL CONTRACT—THE BRIGHAM YOUNG EXPRESS—CELEBRATION OF THE PIONEER ANNIVERSARY—NEWS OF THE COMING INVASION—ITS EFFECT ON THE MORMONS—ARRIVAL OF MAJOR VAN VLIET—THE NAUVOO LEGION—MORMON TACTICS.

"I AM and will be governor, and no power can hinder it," declared Brigham in a sabbath discourse at the tabernacle in June 1853; "until," he added with characteristic shrewdness, "the Lord almighty says, 'Brigham, you need not be governor any longer.'"¹ After the departure of the runaway officials in September 1851, there were none to dispute the authority of the governor, and for several years his will was law. At the opening of the joint sessions of the assembly, a committee was appointed to escort him to the hall of the representatives, where he took his seat in front of the speaker's chair, the members and spectators rising in a body as he entered. The message was then read by his private secretary; it was ordered that a thousand copies of it be printed for the use of both houses, and that it be published in the *Deseret News* for the benefit of the people. The assembly then adjourned, and at the meetings which followed

¹ *Journal of Discourses*, i. 135.
HIST. UTAH. 31

"I deny that any books of the United States have been burned," said Brigham. "I have broken no law; and under the present state of affairs, I will not suffer myself to be taken by any United States officer to be killed as they killed Joseph Smith."

"I do not think it is the intention of the government to arrest you," said Van Vliet, "but to install a new governor in the territory."

"I believe you tell the truth," returned Brigham, "that you believe this—but you do not know their intentions as well as I do. If they dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and do as they please. If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across the continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it. And if an army succeeds in penetrating this valley, tell the government to see that it has forage and provisions in store, for they will find here only a charred and barren waste. We have plenty here of what you want, but we will sell you nothing. Further than this, your army shall not enter this valley."⁴⁸

In vain Van Vliet remonstrated, stating that though the mountain passes might be defended against the small army then approaching Utah, a force would surely be sent, during the following year, that would overcome all opposition. To this warning, several times repeated, but one answer was returned: "We are aware that such will be the case; but when these troops arrive they will find Utah a desert; every house will be burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have three years' provisions on hand, which we will cache, and then take

⁴⁸ *Woodruff's Journal*, MS., in which were originally noted the words spoken a few hours after the interview took place. There is little doubt that, so far as I have quoted them, they are substantially true. In his report, ut supra, Van Vliet says that at this and other interviews Brigham declared that 'the Mormons had been persecuted, murdered, and robbed in Missouri and Illinois, both by the mob and state authorities, and that now the U. S. were about to pursue the same course; and that, therefore, he and the people of Utah had determined to resist all persecution at the commencement.'

to the mountains and bid defiance to all the powers of the government."

During the captain's visit, Brigham, with the apostles, General Wells of the Nauvoo legion, and others, asked him to walk through their grounds, and introducing him to some of the Mormon women, showed him the garden-spots which their hands had fashioned out of the wilderness. "What, madam," he exclaimed to one of the sisters, "would you consent to see this beautiful home in ashes and this fruitful orchard destroyed?" "I would not only consent to it," was the answer, "but I would set fire to my home with my own hands, and cut down every tree, and root up every plant." On the following sabbath the captain attended divine service at the tabernacle, when John Taylor, after referring in his discourse to the approach of the troops, and repeating that they should not be allowed to enter the territory, desired all who would apply the torch to their dwellings, cut down their trees, and lay waste their farms to raise their hands. Every hand was raised in a congregation numbering more than four thousand. "When the time comes to burn and lay waste our improvements," said Brigham in a sermon delivered on the same day, "if any man undertakes to shield his he will be treated as a traitor. . . . Now the faint-hearted can go in peace; but should that time come, they must not interfere. Before I will again suffer, as I have in times gone by, there shall not one building, nor one foot of lumber, nor a fence, nor a tree, nor a particle of grass or hay, that will burn, be left in reach of our enemies. I am sworn, if driven to extremity, to utterly lay waste this land in the name of Israel's God, and our enemies shall find it as barren as when we came here."

Captain Van Vliet was astounded. He had expected to find a seditious and priest-ridden community, mouth-valiant and few in number, whom the mere approach of the troops would tame into submission. He found instead this handful of enthusi-

CHAPTER XIX.

THE UTAH WAR.

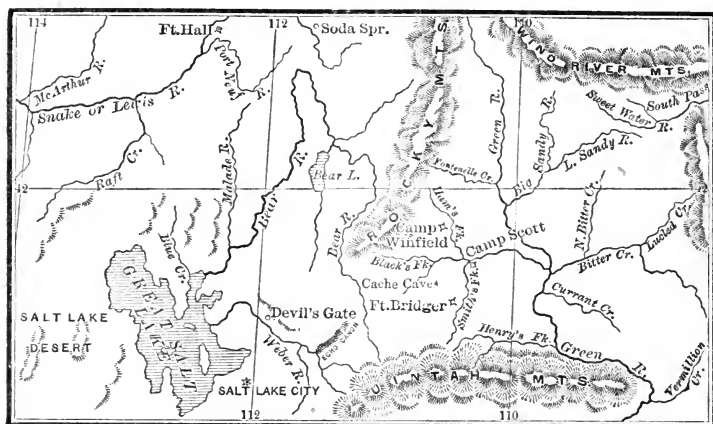
1857-1858.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—BURNING OF SUPPLY TRAINS—STRATEGIC MOVEMENT OF COLONEL ALEXANDER—HIS RETREAT—ARRIVAL OF ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON—THE MARCH TO FORT BRIDGER—WINTER AT CAMP SCOTT—MISSION OF COLONEL KANE—GOVERNOR CUMMING AT SALT LAKE CITY—PARDON PROCLAIMED—THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS—THE ARMY OF UTAH ADVANCES ON ZION—THE CITY DESERTED—THE MORMONS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES—THE TROOPS CANTONED AT CAMP FLOYD—CONDUCT OF THE SOLDIERY AND CAMP FOLLOWERS—JUDGES SINCLAIR AND CRADLEBAUGH—THE REFORMATION IN UTAH.

“I AM ordered there, and I will winter in the valley or in hell,” exclaimed General Harney, who had now joined the expedition, when Van Vliet on his way to Washington reported to him the condition of affairs among the Mormons. With such prospects before them, it was probably fortunate for the army of Utah that the command changed hands early in the campaign, the general’s services being again required in Kansas, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, then at Fort Leavenworth, being appointed his successor, and Colonel Alexander, the senior officer, meanwhile assuming command.

About the middle of August, Colonel Robert Burton with seventy men from the first regiment of the Nauvoo legion, afterward joined by a company from Provo, had already been sent eastward as a corps of observation, with instructions to follow the main emigrant trail, protect incoming Mormon trains, ascertain the number, equipments, and materiel of the

United States troops, and report to headquarters. On the 22d of September the colonel, accompanied by three others, the remainder of his command being ordered to return slowly toward Salt Lake City, selecting on their way the best points for a defensive campaign, encountered the vanguard of the army of Utah, in the vicinity of Devil's Gate, thence accompanied them to Camp Winfield, on Ham Fork, and afterward proceeded to Fort Bridger.



THE UTAH CAMPAIGN.

A few days later General Wells, in command of 1,250 men, supplied with thirty days' rations, established his headquarters at Echo Cañon, a defile some twenty-five miles in length, and whose walls are in places almost within pistol-shot of each other. Through this cañon, the Mormons supposed, lay the path of the invading army, the only means of avoiding the gorge being by a circuitous route northward to Soda Springs, and thence by way of Bear River Valley, or the Wind River Mountains. On the western side of the cañon dams and ditches were constructed, by means of which the road could be submerged to a depth of several feet; at the eastern side

cheerful. The festivities of christmas and new year were celebrated with song and dance and martial music, in pavilions for which the timber had been hauled by hand through miles of snow. Over each one waved the regimental colors, and over that of the fifth infantry fluttered the remnants of the flag that had been torn to shreds at Molino del Rey, and borne in triumph up the slopes of Chapultepec.

Meanwhile the Mormon militia had returned to the valley, as soon as the snow had closed up the mountain cañons. The saints of course regarded the disasters of the federal army as a righteous judgment of providence on a nation that took arms against Zion, and welcomed their returning warriors with pæans of triumph,¹⁴ stigmatizing the foe in sorry and insulting doggerel.¹⁵ At the tabernacle elders waxed bold, and all their remonstrances and overtures of peace being now rejected,¹⁶ they openly avowed, sometimes in braggart phrase, their contempt for the United

¹⁴ In a song of welcome composed by W. G. Mills, and published in the *Deseret News*, Jan. 13, 1858, are the following lines:

Strong in the power of Brigham's God,
Your name 's a terror to our foes;
Ye were a barrier strong and broad
As our high mountains crowned with snows.

Sing! fellow-soldiers in our cause,
For God will show his mighty hand:
Zion shall triumph, and her laws
The standard be to every land.

¹⁵ In *Id.*, Jan. 27, 1858, is a song composed by Matthew Rowan of South Cottonwood, commencing:

Who in all Deseret 's afraid
Of Uncle Sam, and a' that?

A lengthy, and if possible more silly, effusion appears in *Id.*, Feb. 17, 1858. Stenhouse relates that after partaking of the sacrament at the tabernacle the saints concluded divine service with a chorus sung to the tune of 'Du dah day,' and commencing:

Old Sam has sent, I understand,
Du dah,
A Missouri ass to rule our land,
Du dah, du dah day.

Rocky Mountain Saints, 372. I find no mention of such a song in the files of the *Deseret News*. In the issue of Oct. 21, 1858, is an adapted translation of the Marseillaise, also rendered by W. G. Mills, who afterward apostatized.

¹⁶ For copies of further correspondence between Brigham and Col Alexander, see *Tullidge's Hist. S. L. City*, 176-84; for letter addressed by John Taylor to Capt Marcy. *Id.*, 184-9. They are also given with some additions in the *Deseret News*, Jan. 13, 1858, and in *House Ex. Doc.*, 35th Cong. 1st Sess., x. no. 71, p. 48 et seq.

place abandoned,³⁵ Brigham and those who took part in the conference with the peace commissioners being summoned from some unknown point to the southward.

"What has become of the Mormons?" was a question asked throughout Europe and America when this second exodus became known. "We are told that they have embarked for a voyage over five hundred miles of untracked desert," said the *London Times*. "We think it would be unwise to treat Mormonism as a nuisance to be abated by a posse comitatus," declared the *New York Times*. Meanwhile the Mormons were quietly sojourning at Provo, some sixty miles to the south of Salt Lake City. That they would have followed their prophet implicitly whithersoever he might have led, does not admit of doubt; but after some further negotiation, Brigham with the members of the first presidency and certain of the elders returned to their homes on the 1st of July,³⁶ followed, soon afterward, by the remainder of the community, and the Utah war was practically at an end. Two days later the commissioners started for Washington, having faithfully carried out the spirit and letter of their instructions.

After remaining for three days on the banks of the

³⁵ Tullidge relates that at the elder's house a cold lunch was spread for the governor, and in the garden loads of straw were significantly heaped up. Inquiring the cause of the silence that pervaded the city, Mrs Cumming was told that the Mormons had resolved to burn it if the army should attempt its occupation. 'How terrible!' she exclaimed, 'it has the appearance of a city that has been afflicted with a plague. Every house looks like a tomb of the dead. For two miles I have seen but one man in it. Poor creatures! And so all have left their hard-earned homes.' Bursting into tears, she turned to her husband: 'Oh Alfred!' she said, 'something must be done to bring them back! Do not permit the army to stay in the city. Can't you do something for them?' 'Yes, madam,' he replied, 'I shall do all I can, rest assured.' A few days after the conference with the commissioners Cumming followed the Mormons 50 miles to the southward, pleaded with them, at first in vain, but finally induced them to return. *Hist. S. L. City*, 213, 225-6.

³⁶ *Deseret News*, July 14, 1858. The peace commissioners, whose last report from S. L. City is dated July 3d, also mention that the ex-governor and other leading Mormons had then returned with their families. *Sen. Doc.*, 35th Cong. 2d Sess., ii. 173. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, 399, and Tullidge, *Hist. S. L. City*, 226, state that Brigham did not start from Provo till the 5th.

CHAPTER XX.

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.

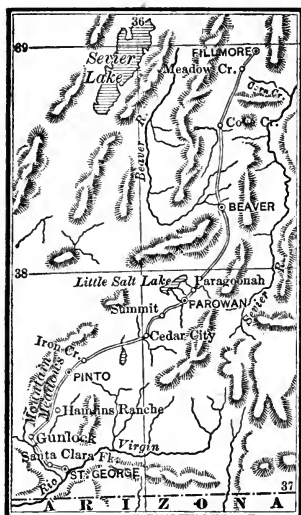
1857.

AN ARKANSAS EMIGRANT PARTY ARRIVES AT SALT LAKE CITY—ASSASSINATION OF PARLEY P. PRATT—ILL FEELING AGAINST THE EMIGRANTS—ALLEGED OUTRAGES—THEIR ARRIVAL AT MOUNTAIN MEADOWS—THEY ARE ATTACKED BY INDIANS—A FLAG OF TRUCE—PLAN OF THE MASSACRE—SURRENDER OF THE EMIGRANTS—THE BUTCHERY—BURIAL OF THE SLAIN—THE SURVIVORS—JUDGE CRADLEBAUGH'S INVESTIGATION—THE AIKEN MASSACRE—JOHN D. LEE ON TRIAL—THE JURY DISAGREE—THE SECOND TRIAL—LEE CONVICTED AND SENTENCED—HIS CONFESSION AND EXECUTION.

THE threat uttered by Brigham during his interview with Captain Van Vliet, on the 9th of September, 1857, was speedily fulfilled—so speedily that, at first sight, its execution would appear to have been predetermined. “If,” he declared, “the government dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer.” “If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across the continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it.” Two days later occurred the Mountain Meadows massacre,¹ at a point about three hundred miles south of Salt Lake City.

¹ In Forney's Rept, in *Sen. Doc.*, 36th Cong. 1st Sess., ii. no. 42, p. 79, and the *Hand-Book of Reference*, p. 75, Sept. 9th is given as the date of the massacre. Forney, as superintendent of Indian affairs, made a close investigation into the details of this tragedy, the result of which is given in his report *ut supra*, pp. 87-9, and elsewhere in this document, which occupies 139 pages, and contains all the official information then to be had on the subject. His reports are dated Salt Lake City, 1859. He states that the attack began on Monday, Sept. 5th, and lasted till Friday, Sept. 9th, when the massacre occurred; but Friday of that week fell on Sept. 11th. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 411-12, note, also quotes an official report, in which Sept. 4th or 5th is given as the date of the first attack. See also Lee's confession in *Mormonism Un-*
(643)

ranges of hills, some fifty feet high and four hundred yards apart. On either side of their camp were ravines connected with the bed of the stream.



MOUNTAIN MEADOWS.

It was Saturday evening when the Arkansas families encamped at Mountain Meadows. On the sabbath they rested, and at the usual hour one of them conducted divine service in a large tent, as had been their custom throughout the journey. At daybreak on the 7th, while the men were lighting their camp-fires, they were fired upon by Indians, or white men disguised as Indians, and more than twenty were killed or wounded,¹³ their cattle having been driven off meanwhile by the assailants, who had crept on them under cover of darkness. The sur-

vivors now ran for their wagons, and pushing them together so as to form a corral, dug out the earth deep enough to sink them almost to the top of the wheels; then in the centre of the inclosure they made a rifle-pit large enough to contain the entire company, strengthening their defences by night as best they could. Thereupon the attacking party, which numbered from three to four hundred, withdrew to the hills, on the crests of which they built parapets, whence they shot down all who showed themselves outside the intrenchment.

The emigrants were now in a state of siege, and though they fought bravely, had little hope of escape. All the outlets of the valley were guarded; their am-

¹³ Seven were killed and sixteen wounded. *Lee's Confession*, in *Mormonism Unveiled*, 226-7; see also *Forney's Rept.*, in *Sen. Doc.*, 36th Cong. 1st Sess., ii. no. 42, p. 88.

CHAPTER XXI.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL.

1859-1862.

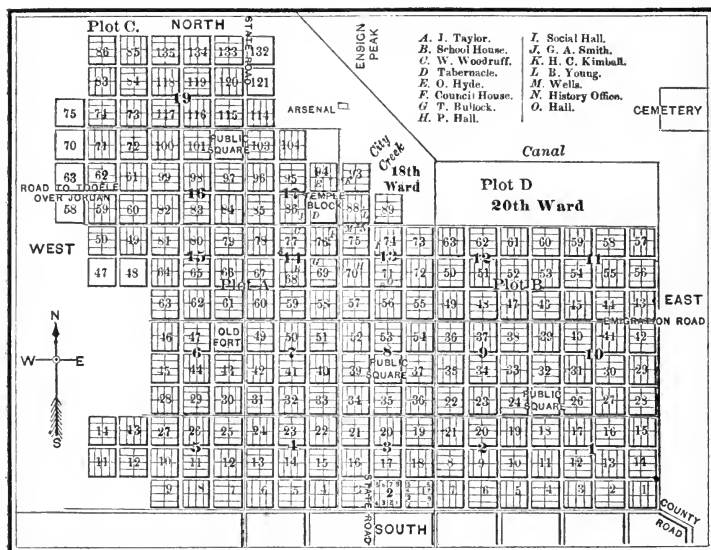
BRIGHAM THREATENED WITH ARREST—THE FEDERAL JUDGES REPROVED—
DEPARTURE OF GOVERNOR CUMMING—AND OF THE ARMY OF UTAH—POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY—MORTALITY—WEALTH—INDUSTRIES—PRICES—WAGES—TRADE—SALT LAKE CITY IN 1860—THE TEMPLE BLOCK—SOCIAL GATHERINGS—THEATRICALS—SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS—CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION—CARSON VALLEY—SAN BERNARDINO—SUMMIT COUNTY AND ITS SETTLEMENTS—PURCHASE OF FORT BRIDGER—WASATCH COUNTY—MORGAN COUNTY—CACHE VALLEY—SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN UTAH.

DURING the disputes between Governor Cumming and General Johnston, the latter being aided, as we have seen, by the federal judges, there was constant fear that the troops would come into collision with the territorial militia. Though the Mormon authorities had no cause for complaint as to the conduct of the soldiery, they regarded their presence as a menace, and condemned the proceedings of the general and the judges as a personal insult to the governor.

After the arrival of the army, Brigham never appeared in public without a body-guard of his own intimate friends;¹ and for many months he attended no public assemblies. At the door of his residence sentries kept watch by day, and at night a strong guard was stationed within its walls. Nor were these precautions unnecessary. About the end of March 1859 a writ was issued for his apprehension on a groundless charge of complicity in forging notes on

¹ *Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints*, 419-20; *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 29, 1858.
(872)

scape. The fields were billowing with grain, the cattle sleek and thriving, the barns well filled, the wind-mills buzzing merrily. Nevertheless, among these smiling settlements a painful deficiency might be noticed. Everything that industry and thrift could accomplish had been done for the farm, but nothing for the home. Between the houses of the poor and the rich there was little difference, except that one was of logs and the other of boards. Both seemed like mere enclosures in which to eat and sleep, and



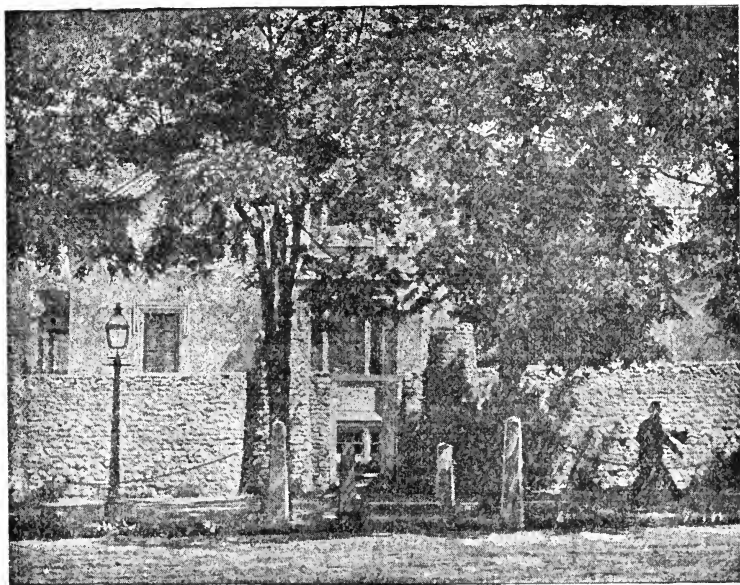
SALT LAKE CITY IN 1860.

around neither was there any sign that the inmates took a pride in their home. One might pass three dwellings enclosed by a common fence, and belonging to one master, but nowhere could be seen any of those simple embellishments that cost so little and mean so much—the cultivated garden plat, the row of shade trees, the rose-bush at the doorway, or the trellised creeper at the porch.

The city itself wore a different aspect. The streets,

the tabernacle by a high fence, stood the endowment house.²⁶

In the blocks adjacent to the tabernacle were the residences of Brigham, Heber, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and Daniel H. Wells, the first two occupying entire blocks.²⁷ South of temple block was the council-house,²⁸ south of Brigham's dwelling and adjoining that of Wells was the historian's office, where the church records were kept, and



HOME OF BRIGHAM YOUNG. SALT LAKE CITY.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

Engraved for the November Magazine of American History, 1889.

in the next plat to the east was the social hall,²⁹ where the fashion of the city held festivities. For balls held at the social hall tickets were issued³⁰ on embossed and bordered

ble of accommodating 2,000 to 3,000 persons. *City of the Saints*, 270. A few years later the tabernacle was enlarged, and had a seating capacity of 7,000. *Utah Notes*, MS., 2.

²⁶ Cuts of the tabernacle and endowment house will be found in *City of the Saints*, facing p. 271.

²⁷ *Jour. to S. L. City*, i. 193-4. In *Id.*, i. 193-200; *Greeley's Overland Jour.*, 206-7; *Atlantic Monthly*, iii. 573-5; *Schiel, Reise durch Felsengebirge*, 100-2, are descriptions of S. L. City about this date.

²⁸ This building, which was begun in 1849, and has already been described, was afterward destroyed by fire. *Nebeker's Early Justice*, MS., 3. Except for a small structure used as a post-office, this was the first public building erected in S. L. City. See also *Wells' Narr.*, MS., 42.

²⁹ The opening of the social hall is described in the *Deseret News*, Jan. 22, 1853.

³⁰ They were issued on special occasions only for 75 or 80 guests, including a few of the more prominent gentiles.

ticipated were several of the wives and daughters of Brigham.³⁴ All the actors attended rehearsal each night in the week, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when the performances took place; most of them found their own costumes, and none received any fixed remuneration.³⁵

While the amusements of the people were thus cared for, there was no lack of more solid entertainment. All had access to the public library under proper restrictions, and in the council-house was opened, in 1853, the first reading-room, which was supplied with newspapers and magazines from all parts of the world. Among the scientific associations may be mentioned the Universal Scientific Society, established in 1854, with Wilford Woodruff as president, and the Polysophical Society, over which Lorenzo Snow presided.³⁶ The musical talent of Salt Lake City formed themselves, in 1855, into the Deseret Philharmonic Society, and in June of that year a music hall was in course of construction.³⁷ In the same

century... The afterpiece was, on the contrary, very well performed.' *Visit to S. Lake*, 224.

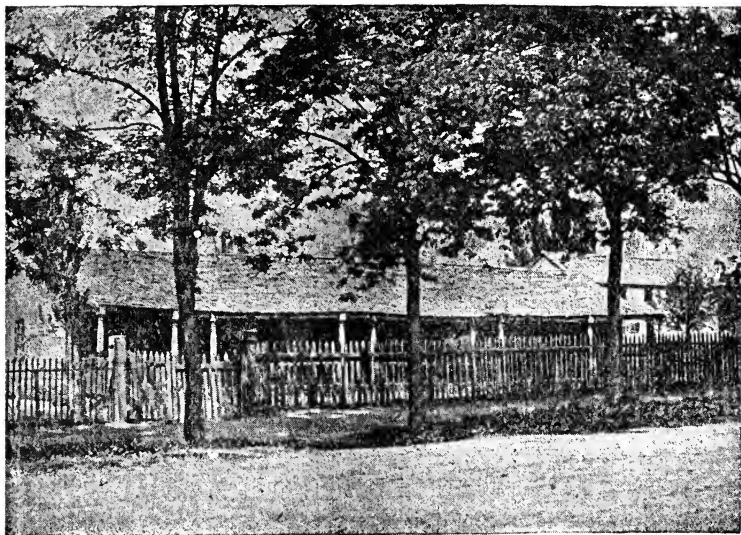
³⁴ Three of Brigham's daughters, Alice, Emily, and Zina, were on the stage. Hepworth Dixon, who was well acquainted with Alice, the youngest wife of Elder Clawson, says that she remarked to him one day at dinner, 'I am not myself very fond of playing, but my father desires that my sister and myself should act sometimes, as he does not think it right to ask any poor man's child to do anything which his own children would object to do.' *New America*, 144.

³⁵ *Cooke's Theatr. and Soc. Affairs in Utah*, MS., 9-10; *Stenhouse's Tell It All*, 380-1. Mrs Cooke states that the performers often remained at rehearsal until 12 or 1 o'clock, and that after a hard day's work. Occasionally a benefit was given to the lady actors, and the proceeds divided among them. Her share during the twelve years that she played amounted to \$150. In *Theatrical and Social Affairs in Utah*, by Mrs S. A. Cooke, MS., we have, besides the information which the title-page suggests, a number of items relating to church matters and the workings of polygamy. Mrs Cooke was well acquainted with the wife of Heber C. Kimball, Eliza Snow, and other prominent women among the Mormons. Of English birth, she was for eight years a teacher of music in the city of New York, and in 1852 set forth for California, reaching S. L. City in July, where she purposed to remain only until the following spring, but was converted to Mormonism. For 16 years she was employed as a teacher, among her pupils in Zion being the children of Brigham Young.

³⁶ There was also a horticultural society, organized in connection with the American Pomological Society, and the Deseret Typographical Association formed for the advancement of their art. *Linforth's Route from Liverpool*, 111.

³⁷ By the members of Capt. Ballo's band. *Deseret News*, June 27, 1855.

in the land of the saints accomplishes a wonderful change, the contrast in mien and physique between the recruits and the older settlers being very strongly marked. Especially is this the case among the women. "I could not but observe in those born hereabouts," writes an English traveller in 1860, "the noble, regular features, the lofty, thoughtful brow, the clear, transparent complexion, the long, silky hair, and,



THE THREE WIFE HOUSE. SALT LAKE CITY.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Cutharine Weed Barnes.]

Engraved for the November Magazine of American History, 1889.

greatest charm of all, the soft smile of the American woman when she does smile."⁸⁹

Much has been said about race deterioration aris-

⁸⁹ *Burton's City of the Saints*, 278. Burton attributes this improvement in the race to climate.

The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California, by Richard F. Burton, London, 1861, ranks among the best of gentle works on Mormonism. Less philosophical than that of Gunnison, it is equally impartial, and gives many details as to the social and industrial condition of the Mormons for which one may search in vain elsewhere. His stay in S. L. City lasted less than four weeks (from Aug. 25 to Sept. 20, 1860), excursions being made during his visit to points of interest in the neighborhood, but he saw more during that time than many others have done in four years.

A Visit to Salt Lake; being a Journey across the Plains and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah, by William Chandlees, London, 1857, is the title of a less entertaining and reliable work. As Mr. Chandlees remarks in his preface, even at that date, 'fictions enough have been written about the Mormons;' but it does not appear that his own work is less fictitious than those of which he complains.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

1861-1869.

GOVERNOR DAWSON'S GALLANTRY—UTAH REFUSED ADMISSION AS A STATE—
PASSAGE OF A BILL AGAINST POLYGAMY—MEASURES OF THE LEGISLATURE
—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR HARDING—DISPUTES BETWEEN BRIGHAM AND
THE FEDERAL OFFICIALS—ARRIVAL OF THE CALIFORNIA VOLUNTEERS—A
FALSE ALARM—THE MORRISITE TROUBLES—GOVERNORS DOTY AND DUR-
KEE—THE LIMITS OF UTAH CURTAILED—CELEBRATION OF LINCOLN'S
SECOND INAUGURATION—THE BRASSFIELD AND ROBINSON MURDERS—
INDIAN OUTBREAKS—THE BATTLE OF BEAR RIVER—DISTURBANCES IN
SOUTHERN UTAH—TREATIES WITH INDIAN TRIBES—THE UINTAH VAL-
LEY RESERVATION—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

THE first appointments made by President Lincoln for the territory of Utah were John W. Dawson as governor,¹ John F. Kinney as chief justice, R. P. Flenniken and J. R. Crosby associate judges, Frank Fuller secretary, and James Duane Doty superintendent of Indian affairs. A few weeks after his arrival, the governor was accused of making improper advances to one of the Mormon women, and on new-year's eve of 1861 was glad to make his escape from Zion, being waylaid at Mountain Dell on his return journey and soundly beaten by a party of saints.²

¹ After Cumming's departure, Secretary Wooton became acting governor, but resigned as soon as the southern secession was announced. *Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints*, 445, 591.

² In Waite's *The Mormon Prophet*, 76; Beadle's *Life in Utah*, 201; *Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints*, 592, it is stated that Dawson was entrapped into this affair; in *Tucker's Mormonism*, 239; *Tullidge's Hist. S. L. City*, 249; *Deseret News*, Jan. 1, 1862, that it was of his own seeking. In *Id.*, Jan. 14th, is a letter from Dawson to the editor of the *Deseret News*, dated Bear River Station, Utah Terr., wherein the governor states that he was badly wounded in the head and kicked in the chest and loins. A copy of his first and only message to the legislature will be found in *Utah Jour. Legisl.*, 1861-2, 12-26.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCHISMS AND APOSTASIES.

1844-1869.

**THE STRANGITES—THE GATHERERS—BRANNAN'S FOLLOWERS—THE GLAD-
DENITES—THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS—ALEX-
ANDER AND DAVID HYRUM SMITH—THE UTAH MAGAZINE—TRIAL OF
GODBE AND HARRISON—SUCCESS OF THE GODBEITE MOVEMENT—THE
STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL CONTROL—PERSECUTION OF GENTILE MER-
CHANTS—ZION'S COÖPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION—EXTENT OF
ITS OPERATIONS—DISASTROUS EFFECT ON GENTILE TRADE—REACTION IN
FAVOR OF THE REFORMERS.**

DURING the life-time of Joseph Smith there was but one organized secession from the church, though, as we have seen, apostasies were frequent during his later years. If the words of the prophet were not the living truth, then could no faith be placed in Mormonism, for he and none other was regarded as the fountain-head of inspiration. But with his death the source of infallibility was removed, and thus the way was opened for schism and dissension, few of the diverging sects, however, having sufficient faith in their leaders to preserve them from final dissolution.

The saints who followed Sidney Rigdon to Pittsburgh in 1844 became gradually scattered among the gentiles, a few of them, with William Marks at their head, afterward rejoining the church. To J. J. Strang, a prominent elder, were vouchsafed, as he claims, numerous revelations that in Wisconsin was the true Zion, and several thousands accompanied him to that state. Strang afterward settled at Beaver Island, in Lake Michigan, where he retained a small

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LAST DAYS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

1869-1877.

VISIT OF SCHUYLER COLFAX—GODBE'S INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT GRANT—GOVERNOR SHAFFER—MILITARY RIOT AT PROVO—GOVERNOR WOODS—JUDGE MCKEAN—BURLESQUE OF JUSTICE—ARREST OF BRIGHAM YOUNG AND OTHERS—GEORGE Q. CANNON CHOSEN DELEGATE—AXTELL'S ADMINISTRATION—GOVERNOR EMERY—DEATH OF BRIGHAM—HIS OBSEQUIES—HIS CHARACTER—HIS WILL.

"Will Brigham Young fight?" inquired Schuyler Colfax of Elder Stenhouse, during his sojourn at Salt Lake City in 1869.¹ "For God's sake, Mr Colfax," answered the elder, "keep the United States off. If the government interferes and sends troops, you will spoil the opportunity, and drive the thousands back into the arms of Brigham Young who are ready to rebel against the one-man power. Leave the elders alone to solve their own problems. We can do it; the government cannot." But with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, none of the presidents were of the opinion that it was best to leave the Mormons alone. At this date there is little doubt that Grant was resolved on the suppression of polygamy, even if need be at the cost of war. Meanwhile the famous Cul-

¹ Colfax also visited Utah in 1865. For reception and purpose of visit, see *Richardson's Beyond the Miss.*, 345-6, 348-9; *Bowles' Our New West*, 203-4; *Tullidge's Life of Brigham Young*, 355-8; *Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints*, 613-15. For speech of Colfax, in 1869, in which, probably, the sentence most acceptable to the Mormons was the concluding line, 'I bid you all good night and good by,' see *The Mormon Question* (S. L. City, 1870), wherein is also a reply by John Taylor, an article on the Mormon question by the vice-president, published in the *New York Independent*, and a rejoinder by Taylor.

by concerted action of the federal officials, an effort was made to punish judicially the church criminals."¹⁸

The governor was ably seconded by the chief justice. In October Brigham Young, George Q. Cannon, and others were arrested for lascivious cohabitation. Motion made to quash the indictment was overruled by McKern; "for," he remarked, "while the case at bar is called the people versus Brigham Young, its other and real title is Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy." In the indictment were sixteen counts, extending back to the year 1854, thus attempting to give an ex post facto interpretation to the act of 1862. The president's health was feeble at this time, and on the application of his attorney, a continuance was granted until the March term. One Thomas Hawkins, however, was convicted during this term, on the evidence of his first or legal wife, sentenced under this act to three years' imprisonment with hard labor, and fined \$500. But the severest portion of the sentence was the homily. "Thomas Hawkins," commenced the chief justice, "I am sorry for you—very sorry. You may not think so now, but I sha'll try to make you think so by the mercy which I shall show you. . . . The law gives me large discretion in passing sentence upon you. I might both fine and imprison you, or I might fine you only or imprison you only. . . . It is right that you should be fined, among other reasons to help to defray the expense of enforcing the laws."¹⁹

Two or three days before sentence was passed on Hawkins, this being of course a test case, Daniel H. Wells and Hosea Stout were arrested on a charge of murder, Brigham Young, William H. Kimball, and others being indicted on a similar charge.²⁰ Wells

¹⁸ *Id.*, 46-7.

¹⁹ *Deseret News*, Nov. 1, 1871. For adverse comments of the press on the Hawkins case, see *Austin Reese River Reveillé*, *Carson Daily Register*, *Sacramento Reporter*, *Omaha Alta*, in *Millennial Star*, xxxiii. 764-5. In *Townsend's Mormon Trials* is an impartial account of McKern's anti-Mormon crusade.

²⁰ Wells and Stout were arrested for the murder of Rich. Yates, at the mouth of Echo cañon; Young, Kimball, Wm A. Hickman, O. P. Rockwell,

foul means,⁴⁶ but by economy and close attention to his business interests. Of all the business men in Utah he was perhaps the most capable, but in the art of making money he had no set system; merely the ability for turning money to account and for taking care of it. He purchased saw-mills and thrashing-machines, for instance, and let them out on shares; he supplied settlers and emigrants with grain and provisions; from the lumber and firewood which he sold to the troops at Camp Floyd he is supposed to have netted some \$200,000, and from other contracts a much larger sum. By many he is accused of enriching himself from the appropriations of tithes, and by plundering alike both saint and gentile, whereas none paid his church dues more punctually or subscribed to charities more liberally than did the president. That with all his opportunities for making money honestly and with safety he should put in peril his opportunities and his high position by stooping to such fraud as was commonly practised among United States officials of exalted rank, is a charge that needs no comment.⁴⁷ He had a great advantage in being able to command men and dictate measures, but he did not rob the brethren, as many have asserted. At his decease the value of his estate was estimated at \$2,500,000,⁴⁸ though as trustee for the church he controlled a much larger amount.

⁴⁶ Stenhouse, for instance, relates that in 1852 he balanced his account with the church, amounting to \$200,000, by directing his clerk to place this sum to his credit for services rendered, and that in 1867 he discharged his liabilities, amounting to \$967,000, in a similar manner. *Rocky Mountain Saints*, 665. Such statements are pure fiction.

⁴⁷ In the records of the internal revenue office at Washington his total income for 1870 is stated at \$25,500, in 1871 at \$111,680, and in 1872 at \$39,952.

⁴⁸ It has been stated in several books and many newspaper paragraphs that Brigham had large deposits in the Bank of England, the amount being placed as high as \$20,000,000. This is entirely untrue. Stenhouse, for instance, says that a New York journalist who visited him in 1871 inquired as to this report, the sum being then stated at \$17,000,000. Brigham replied that he had not a dollar outside of Utah, but that the church had some small amount abroad for its use. The following extract from *Richards' Narr.*, MS., may serve to explain the matter: 'The rumor that President Young ever had any money in the Bank of England is entirely false. When I was in Liverpool I

CHAPTER XXV.

CHURCH AND STATE.

1877-1885.

CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCH—REORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY—JOHN TAYLOR APPOINTED PRESIDENT—HIS APPEARANCE AND MIEN—THE EDMUNDS BILL—ITS PENALTIES—AN EX POST FACTO LAW—POLYGAMISTS DISFRANCHISED—UTAH AGAIN REFUSED ADMISSION AS A STATE—OPERATIONS OF THE UTAH COMMISSION—GOVERNOR MURRAY'S MESSAGE—HIS ADMINISTRATION.

MANY years before the death of Brigham Young it was predicted that whenever that event should happen dissensions would occur among the Mormons, if not entire disintegration of the sect; for die when he would, or succeed him who might, such absolute power as he possessed would never be tolerated in another. He was elected at a time when his people were in distress, and accepting him as their deliverer, they had almost sunk their individuality, vesting him with all the powers of pope and potentate. But now, it was said, all was changed. Contact with the gentile world, the establishment of gentile schools and churches, together with other influences that had long been at work, were telling gradually upon their faith. Already they had grown weary of the yoke, and once Brigham was laid in the tomb, his followers would no longer exist as a people. Never was anticipation so ill-founded. The world was now to learn that the inherent vitality of Mormonism depended not on the existence of any one man or body of men, not even on the existence of the twelve. "If every apostle was slain but one," remarked George Q. Cannon at

been amiss in the days of the star-chamber, but is directly at variance with the spirit and letter of the American constitution; and the more so when we consider that the Mormons, driven by persecution out of the United States, settled in what was then no portion of the territory of the United States, though aiding in the conquest and settlement of that territory, as did the colonists of Rhode Island, in 1636, when they fled from the sectional intolerance of Massachusetts.

But not only were the Mormons to be judged as criminals by an *ex post facto* law—one that barred the statute of limitations, and if strictly enforced would bring within its pale no inconsiderable portion of the adult male population of the United States—they were also to be stripped of the franchise, and made ineligible for office. It was argued in the senate that this was no penalty, and it may be admitted that, as a rule, to deprive men of the suffrage, and disqualify them for office, is not a severe punishment; but in Utah, where at least five hundred lucrative positions would have been laid open to a hungry horde of gentile office-seekers, the suffrage was worth more than houses and lands, for by the ballot alone could be held in check the greed of demagogues, who sought the control of the territory as a field for plunder and oppression. The bill virtually proposed to disfranchise a people, and to govern them by a committee of five men, or at least to create a government by a minority over a large majority; for it was not to be expected that these five men, of whom a quorum belonged to the same political faction, would decide impartially on the electoral qualifications of the people. It was so expressed, and its measures were indorsed by the congress and president of the United States, the question being not whether congress had power to repeal any or all of the laws in each of the territories, and intrust the legislative, executive, and judicial functions to whomsoever it pleased—this was

CHAPTER XXVI.

SETTLEMENTS, SOCIETY, AND EDUCATION.

1862-1886.

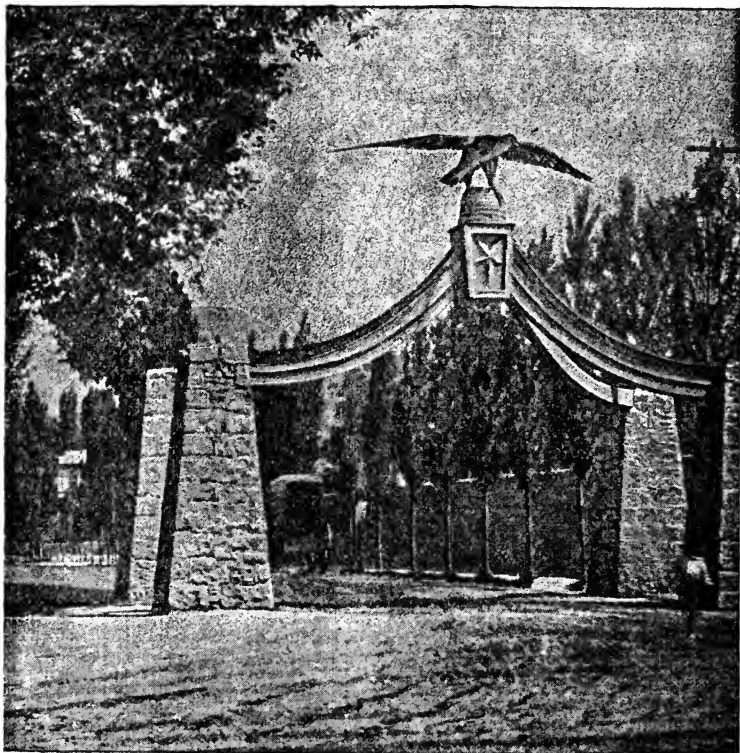
POPULATION AND STATISTICS—SALT LAKE CITY—THE TEMPLE—THE NEW TABERNACLE—THE MUSEUM—CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS—DISTINCTIVE FEATURES—SALT LAKE COUNTY—DAVIS COUNTY—OGDEN—CACHE COUNTY—RICH COUNTY—SUMMIT COUNTY—BRIGHAM CITY—NEPHI—PROVO—UINTAH, EMERY, SAN JUAN, GARFIELD, AND PIUTE COUNTIES—SANPETE AND SEVIER COUNTIES—IRON, KANE, AND WASHINGTON COUNTIES—SCHOOLS—THE UNIVERSITY OF DESERET—THE DESERET ALPHABET—LIBRARIES—JOURNALS AND JOURNALISM.

IN all the stages of her existence, Utah has been constantly expanding, her growth, far from depleting her resources, only adding to her strength. Originally one of the most barren spots on the face of nature, with nothing to attract even attention, the land has become as fruitful a field, and her people as busy a commonwealth, as can be found, with few exceptions, elsewhere on the Pacific slope. With her unkindly soil, her extremes of temperature, the thermometer varying between 110° above and 20° below zero,¹ her slight and uncertain rainfall, without foliage, except such as was found here and there in narrow, rock-ribbed gorges, with fuel almost inaccessible at points where habitation was possible, with no nearer sources of general supply than the small and scattered communities on the Pacific coast, and with all sources of supply often practically cut off—amid this forbidding and

¹ On Feb. 5, 1849, the mercury stood at 33° below zero at S. L. City. The mean temperature for 19 years was $51^{\circ} 9'$, and the highest 104° in 1871. For meteorological tables, see *Meteor. Reg.*, passim; *Surgeon-Gen. Circ. 8*, 1875, pp. 339-40, 345; *Wheeler's Surveys*, ii. 535 et seq.

As Paris is said to be France, so it has been said of Salt Lake City that it is Utah, for there the com-

though all the camps were scantily supplied, their wants were at once relieved. The St. Joseph stake at Pima, Ar., was organized in Feb. 1883, the place being first settled in 1879 by families from eastern Arizona. St. David was founded in 1878, Philemon C. Merrill being the first settler; Curtis in 1881 by the Curtis family; Graham, so named from the peak a few miles to the south, in 1881; Thatcher, named after Apostle Moses Thatcher, in 1882, by John M. Moody; Central, in the same year, by Joseph Cluff and others; McDonald, named in honor of A. F. McDonald, president of the Maricopa stake, by Henry J. Horne and others; Layton, named



EAGLE GATE. SALT LAKE CITY. 1889.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

Engraved for the November Magazine of American History, 1889.

after President C. Layton, by John and Adam Welker, Ben. Peel, and a few others. All these settlements are in Arizona. The Mesa settlement, belonging to the Maricopa stake, was founded by companies from Bear Lake co., Id., and S. L. co., Utah. In the autumn of this year a few members of the company became dissatisfied with the location, and set forth for San Pedro River, where they founded the settlement of St. David, so named by Pres. A. F. McDonald after David Patten, whom the Mormons regard as a martyr. *Maricopa Stake, MS.* In the fall of 1877 Elder John Morgan led a colony of saints from the southern states to Pueblo, Colorado, where they wintered. Mainly through the elder's efforts, two settlements were founded, to which were afterward given the names of Ephraim and Manassa. *Stuart's Colonization in Colorado, MS.*

lars. Its seating capacity is about 9,000,¹⁶ and in the building are twenty doors, some nine feet in width, and all of them opening outward, so that in case of fire a full congregation can make its exit in three or four minutes. As was the case in the old tabernacle,¹⁷ the acoustic properties are remarkably good, and it is said that one standing in the east end of the gallery and uttering a few words in his lowest tone can be distinctly heard in the amphitheatre where the church dignitaries are seated, at the opposite end of the building.¹⁸

On the site of the old tabernacle now stands the new assembly hall,¹⁹ which is also the stake house for the Salt Lake stake of Zion. It is built of rough-hewn granite, the rock being taken from the same quarry that supplies material for the temple, and with frescoed ceiling, representing important events in church history. Though church-like in appearance, it is considered one of the most sightly structures in the city.²⁰ Of the endowment house and other buildings on temple block mention has been made elsewhere.

On South Temple street is the museum, where are specimens of home art, in painting and sculpture, also home products and manufactures, as in cotton, wool, silk, cloth, paper; gold and silver bullion and coins, with samples of the ores and minerals of Utah;

¹⁶ *Richards' Utah Miscell.*, MS. In *Utah Notes*, MS., 2, it is given as low as 7,000. Other authorities say 12,000 to 13,000, but recent estimates show this to be an exaggeration, though including standing-room, the former figure is about correct.

¹⁷ For mention of the old tabernacle and its organ, see p. 292, this vol.

¹⁸ For further descriptions of this tabernacle, see, among others, *Sala's Amer. Revisited*, 296-8; *Bonwick's Mormons and Silver Mines*, 10-17; *Marshall's Through Amer.*, 1658; *Duffus-Hardy's Through Cities and Prairie*, 113-15; *De Rupert's Cal. and Morm.*, 138-46; *Deseret News*, May 4, 1870, on which date were delivered the inaugural addresses.

¹⁹ The corner-stones were laid Sept. 28, 1877, and it was dedicated Jan. 9, 1882, though public meetings were held in it as early as Apr. 4, 1880. Until Apr. 1879 it was called the new or little tabernacle, its name being changed at that date to the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. It is 120 by 63 feet, and can seat 3,000 people. *Richards' Utah Miscell.*, MS.

²⁰ *Utah Notes*, MS., 2; *Sloan's Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, 204. The building is 120 by 63 ft, the height of the tower which rises from the centre being 130 ft. It has excellent acoustic properties, contains a large organ, rich and sweet in tone, and was dedicated in the spring of 1880.

CHAPTER XXVII.

AGRICULTURE, STOCK-RAISING, MANUFACTURES, AND MINING.

1852-1886.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND YIELD PER ACRE—IRRIGATION—CHARACTER OF THE SOIL—FRUIT CULTURE—VITICULTURE—SERICULTURE—TIMBER AND TIMBER-LANDS—BUNCH-GRASS—CATTLE-RAISING—DAIRY PRODUCTS—HORSES—SHEEP—WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES—LEATHER—OTHER MANUFACTURES—IRON-MINING—COAL-MINING—COPPER—SULPHUR—GYPSUM AND MICA—OTHER MINERALS—BUILDING STONE—GOLD AND SILVER—THE WEST MOUNTAIN DISTRICT—THE RUSH VALLEY DISTRICT—THE COTTONWOOD DISTRICT—THE AMERICAN FORK DISTRICT—THE TINTIC DISTRICT—THE ONTARIO MINE—OTHER MINING DISTRICTS—MINING PRODUCTS—MILLING, SMELTING, AND REDUCTION-WORKS.

THE progress of agriculture in Utah will best be understood from the following figures: In 1849, as we have seen, nearly 130,000 bushels of cereals were raised from about 17,000 acres of land,¹ then valued at \$6.50 per acre. In 1883, which was by no means a favorable year, more than 1,600,000 bushels of wheat, and some 722,000 of oats, 305,000 of barley, 193,000 of corn, together with 215,000 tons of hay, and 800,000 bushels of potatoes, were produced from about 215,000 acres,² the value of which varied according to location from \$25 to \$100 per acre; the yield

¹ See p. 328, this vol. Three fourths of the crop was wheat, and there were 10,000 bushels each of corn and oats. Most of it was produced on the banks of Jordan River and its affluents, and in the neighborhood of Utah Lake. In *Utah Sketches*, MS., passim, it is stated that land was cultivated in Sanpete co. in 1848, and in Tooele and Utah cos. in 1849. Some 45,000 bushels of potatoes were also raised in 1849, besides other vegetables, together with 40 pounds of hops and 70 of tobacco.

² For tabulated statement of cereal and farm products for each county in 1883, see *Utah Gazeteer*, 1884, 297-8.

were raised in California and Oregon.¹⁷ With the exception of Indian corn, all the cereals raised in Utah thrive vigorously when under irrigation, fall wheat requiring only one watering a year. In the basin of Great Salt Lake the fruits of the temperate zone grow to good size, and are of excellent flavor, the crop being remarkably sure. The value of orchard products in 1883, including apples, of which there were at least ninety varieties, pears, quinces, cherries, peaches, currants, plums, and berries of many descriptions, was estimated at \$157,000. The yield of apples was about 90 bushels to the acre, of pears 75, of peaches 120, of plums 165, and of cherries 75.¹⁸ Production was largely in excess of the demand, most of the surplus being dried for shipment, though for want of a market thousands of tons were fed to hogs, or allowed to rot on the ground.¹⁹

On the Rio Virgen and elsewhere in southern Utah below the rim of the basin were, in 1883, a few vineyards, but viticulture was not a profitable industry, as both grapes and wine were slow of sale, the latter

¹⁷ See, for list of prizes awarded in 1879, *Deseret News*, Oct. 22, 1879; for report of directors in 1860, *Id.*, Oct. 17, 1860; for exhibition in that year, *Sac. Union*, Oct. 20, 1860; for condition, operations, and financial exhibits, *Utah Jour. Legist.*, 1863-4, pp. 59-60; 1864-5, 79-81; 1865-6, 82-4, 123; 1870, 177-8; 1876, 133-4; for rules and regulations, *Deseret Agr. and Man. Soc.—List of Premiums*; *S. L. Dy Herald*, July 19, Aug. 9, 1879; for description of last fair, *S. L. Wkly Herald*, Oct. 6, 1881; for agricultural fair held at Provo in 1870, *Deseret News*, Oct. 12, 1870; for Utah co. fair in 1860, *Id.*, Oct. 3, 1860; for fairs at various settlements and prizes awarded, *Id.*, Oct. 8, 1862; for complete list of agricultural societies, *Id.* Aug. 21, 1872. In 1865 lands and funds were appropriated for an agricultural college. See *Utah Jour. Legist.*, 1865-6, p. 40; *Utah Acts Legist.*, 1865, p. 88.

¹⁸ *Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, p. 46. These figures are for 1875. Of late years apples, peaches, vegetables, and grain have been infected with worms, and the trees with noxious insects, four or five large worms being sometimes found in a single ear of corn. *Jennings' Mat. Progr. of Utah*, MS., 7; *Hollister's Res. and Attract. of Utah* (1882), 18.

¹⁹ See, for review of fruit culture in Utah, *Deseret News*, March 20, 1861; for tables showing area under fruit, product, yield per acre, and sketch of fruit-growing interest for 1875-9, *S. L. C. Tribune*, Apr. 2, 1879; for other statistics and reports on horticulture, *Deseret News*, Dec. 31, 1856; *Utah Jour. Legist.*, 1866-7, pp. 159-62; 1868, 163-8. Among the leading men engaged in the wholesale fruit business may be mentioned H. L. Griffin, who commenced operations in 1881 and met with fair success. Mr Griffin, a Pennsylvanian by birth, came to Utah in 1879, having previously resided for many years in Kansas, to which state he removed after his father was crippled in the war of the rebellion. *Griffin's Fruit Cult.*, MS.

The herds which the Utah settlers brought with them from Illinois were largely increased, as we have seen, during the California-bound migration, especially between 1849 and 1854, when thousands of steers and cows, broken-down and sore-footed, but of excellent breed, were bartered for provisions, mules, and Indian ponies. The emigrant roads from the Sweetwater to the Humboldt were lined with enterprising traders, who secured this lame stock on their own terms; and after fattening their cattle on the rich grasses of Utah, sent them to California, where they were exchanged for gold-dust or for Mexican mustangs, which were again traded off for cattle. Thus herds multiplied rapidly in the land of the saints; moreover, the natural increase was enormous, for as yet pasture was abundant and the inhabitants consumed but little meat. There was no difficulty, however, in disposing of the surplus. When California became overstocked, large numbers were driven to Nevada,²⁹ afterward to Idaho and Montana, and still more recently to Wyoming and Colorado. Gradually, however, some of these markets became glutted, though there was still a considerable demand, and in later years farmers who had before paid little attention to grading, as they found that an inferior beast sold for almost as much as a well-bred animal, made some effort toward raising better and larger stock, such as would find ready sale in eastern cities.³⁰ Short-horn, Devon, Hereford, Jersey, or Ayrshire cattle crossed with other breeds were then to be found on most of the principal ranges. In 1883 the total number of cattle was estimated at about 160,000,³¹ and their value, at an average of \$30 per head, at \$4,800,000. At that

²⁹ As early as 1856 cattle were driven to Truckee. *Huffaker's Early Cattle Trade*, MS., 1-2.

³⁰ *Stock-Raising in Utah*, MS., 5. Burton remarks that stock-breeding was one of Brigham's hobbies, and that the difference between Utah cattle and the old Spanish herds of California was very remarkable. *City of the Saints*, 285.

³¹ According to a carefully compiled table in *Sloan's Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, 296. In the governor's message of 1882 the number was placed at 200,000, probably too high; in the census report for 1880 at 93,581, certainly too low.

miles of Salt Lake City, and where it could be profitably worked.⁴⁹ Between that date and 1880, 126,000 acres of coal-lands had been surveyed in various counties,⁵⁰ and in 1883 the total area of such lands was estimated at 20,000 square miles. The largest deposits are found on the eastern slope of the Wasatch, extending at intervals from the Uintah reservation through Sanpete, Pleasant, and Castle valleys, as far south as Kanab, and its vicinity. In considerable areas the formation is broken or destroyed by erosion, among others, in the neighborhood of Iron City, where veins are plentiful, though too small to be profitably worked. On the Weber and its tributaries in Summit county, for 12 or 15 miles above Echo City, there is coal of fair quality for household and steam-making purposes, which has been worked since 1867, some of the mines being opened in 1883 to a depth of 1,100 or 1,200 feet. From the Coalville mines, a few miles south of Echo, were drawn until recent years most of the supplies needed for Salt Lake City and the northern settlements. At Evanston, also in Summit county and on the line of the Union Pacific, there is a vein of bituminous coal from 17 to 19 feet in thickness. In 11 out of the 24 counties of Utah coal-lands had been surveyed in 1880, varying in extent from 120 to 35,696 acres, and in several others it was known that coal existed. Perhaps the most valuable deposits are in the Sanpete Valley, where the seams vary from 6 inches to 6 feet of bituminous coal, which, when a better plant is used in the mines, may produce a serviceable coke, while in the mountains to the

⁴⁹ *Utah Acts Legisl.*, 1855, 393. The reward was claimed in 1860 by Wm H. Kimball and John Spriggs, whose petition was referred to a committee and refused, on the ground that the mine was more than 40 miles distant and the coal of inferior quality. See *Utah Jour. Legisl.*, 1860-1, 73, 1862-3, 65-6. In 1863 a mine had been opened 40 miles from the capital, the coal selling at \$40 per ton.

⁵⁰ For list of counties, locations, and number of acres in each, see *Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, 62. For coal-lands taken up in 1876-9, according to the surveyor-general's report, see *S. L. C. Herald*, Nov. 26, 1879.

nected with it after its sale to a party of English capitalists, for the sum of \$5,000,000, have no parallel in the history of mining swindles, except perhaps in connection with the Comstock lode.⁶⁵ The Big Cottonwood district lay immediately to the north of its namesake, both being near Alta, in Salt Lake county, and from 8,000 to 9,000 feet above the sea-level. In 1871 none of the mines promised well, but a year later several were yielding largely, and some hundreds of claims were located.⁶⁶

In the American Fork district, south of Little Cottonwood, many locations were taken up in 1870 and 1871, some of considerable value—one mine, named the Pittsburg, being afterward sold for \$20,000, and one called the Miller for \$190,000. The most prominent mine in 1882 was the Silver Bell, in which a strong vein of milling ore was encountered at a depth of 300 feet. In geologic features this district resembled the Cottonwoods, and was on the same mineral belt.⁶⁷ In connection with it may be mentioned the Silver Lake district, on Deer Creek, containing several promising locations, and now merged in the American Fork district.

On the extreme southern end of the Oquirrh Range, and on its western face, was the Tintic district, overlooking the Tintic Valley, where the first mine, named the Sunbeam, was located in 1869, the district being organized a few months later. On the Sun-

⁶⁵ See further, for history and description of Emma mine, *Beadle's Western Wilds*, 120; *S. F. Call*, March 11, 1876; *S. L. C. Tribune*, Jan. 11, 1872, March 25, April 8, 1876; of swindle, *Id.*, Nov. 30, 1875; of lawsuit, *Coast Rev.*, 1872, vol. ii., no. 5, 192, no. 6, 230-1; *S. F. Bull.*, Jan. 7, 1875; *S. F. Post*, June 8, 1872.

⁶⁶ For further mention of the Cottonwood mines, see *Godbe's Statement*, MS., 4-5; *Paul's Utah Incid.*, MS.; *S. L. C. Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1881; *Tribune*, Jan. 3, 1880; *S. L. Herald*, Jan. 3, 1880; *S. F. Alta*, Feb. 9, 26, 1873; *Hayden's Geol. Surv. Rept.*, 1872, 106-8.

⁶⁷ For further details, see *Murphy's Min. Res. of Utah*, 32-4. In this work are descriptions of all the mining districts of Utah up to 1872, and of the leading districts to 1882, in *Hollister's Res. and Attract. of Utah*, 1882, 22-41. In the former are also the names of the productive mines in each district, with no. of feet, assays, etc. In *Utah Gazetteer*, 1884, 73-104, there is also a description of the various districts.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.

1852-1885.

COMMON ROADWAYS—RAILROADS—THE UNION AND CENTRAL PACIFIC—THE UTAH CENTRAL—THE UTAH SOUTHERN—THE UTAH AND NORTHERN—THE UTAH EASTERN—THE SALT LAKE AND WESTERN—THE UTAH AND NEVADA—THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE WESTERN—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—COMMERCE AND TRADE—BANKING—INSURANCE—TAXATION AND REVENUE—MAILS AND MAIL SERVICES—THE FIRST TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE—THE DESERET TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

IN 1860 the principal route from the Missouri to Utah was still the old emigrant-road which had been mainly used during the Utah and California migrations, and which was traversed by the army of Utah in 1857. Between Utah and California there were three principal lines of travel—the northern, the central, and the southern. The first skirted the upper edge of Great Salt Lake, and thence after crossing an intervening stretch of desert followed the valleys of the Humboldt and Carson rivers, being, in fact, almost identical with the Frémont route of 1845. Notwithstanding its length, it was still preferred by travellers, as pasture and water were fairly plentiful, and only two small tracts of desert land were met with.¹ The central, better known to the settlers of Utah by the name of Egan's and to the California-bound emigrants as the Simpson route, though the two were by no means coincident, varied but a few miles from the fortieth parallel until reaching the

¹ For descriptions of this route, see *Horn's Overl. Guide*; *Kelly's Excurs. to Cal.*, *Remy's Jour. to G. S. L. City*, *passim*.

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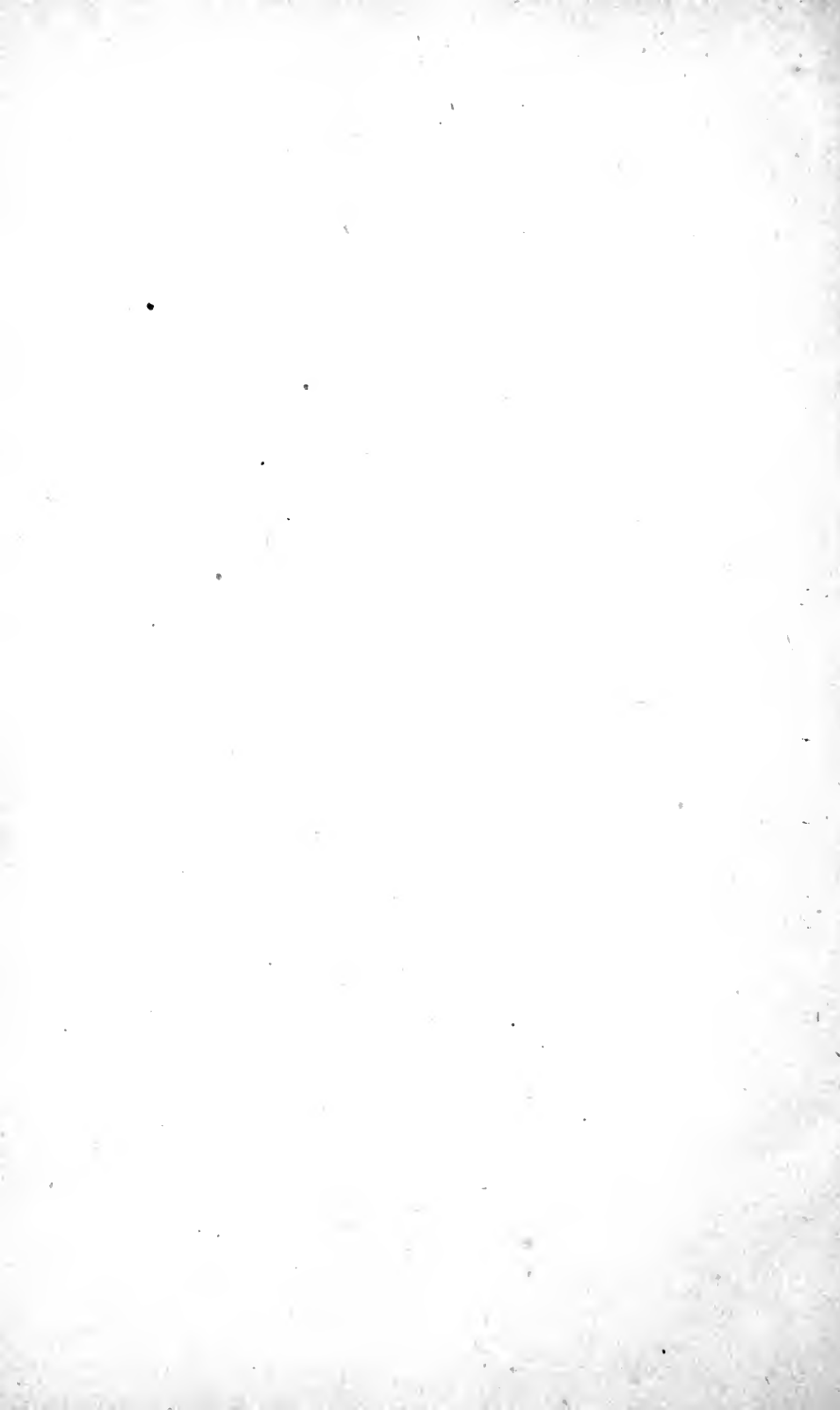
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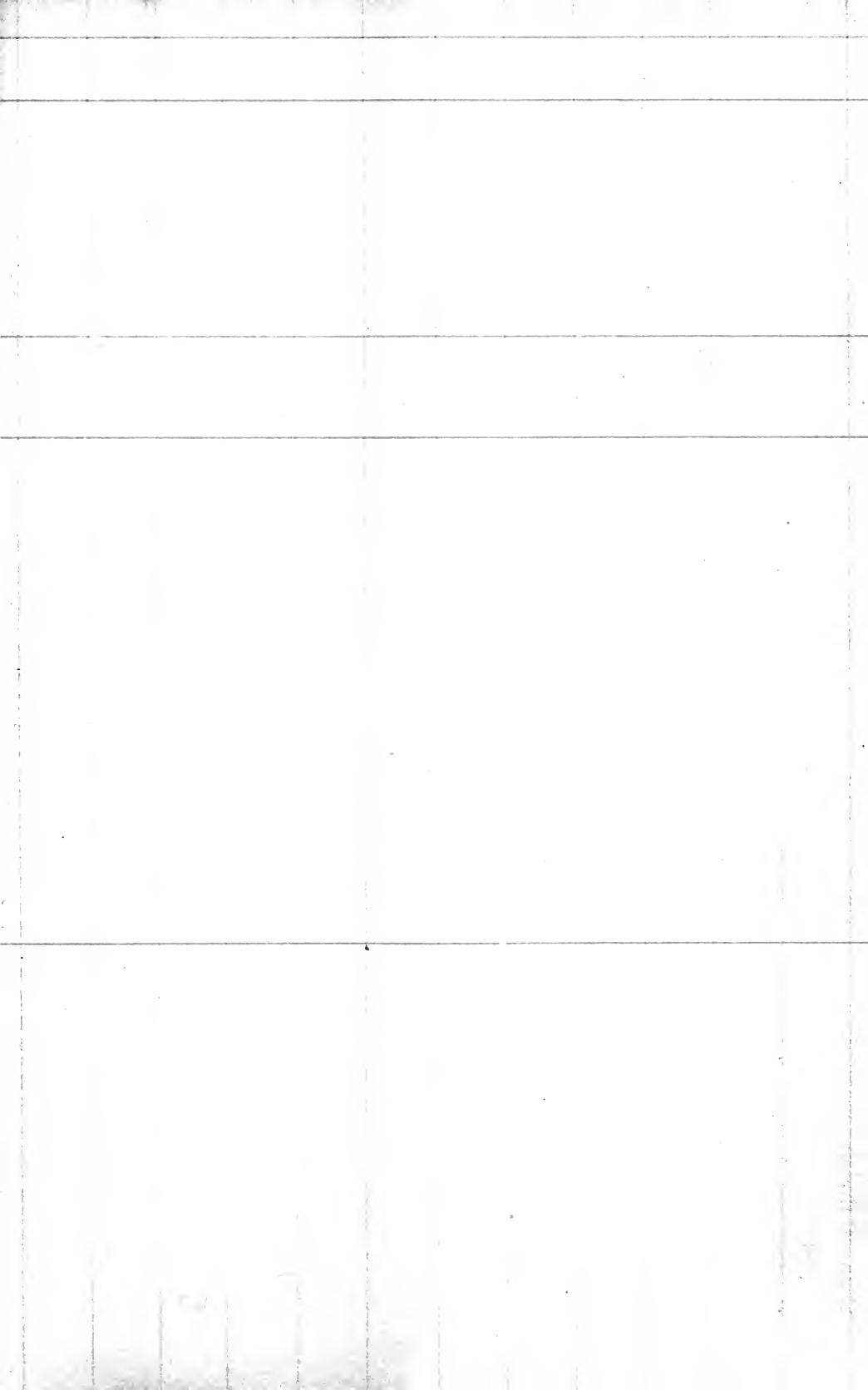
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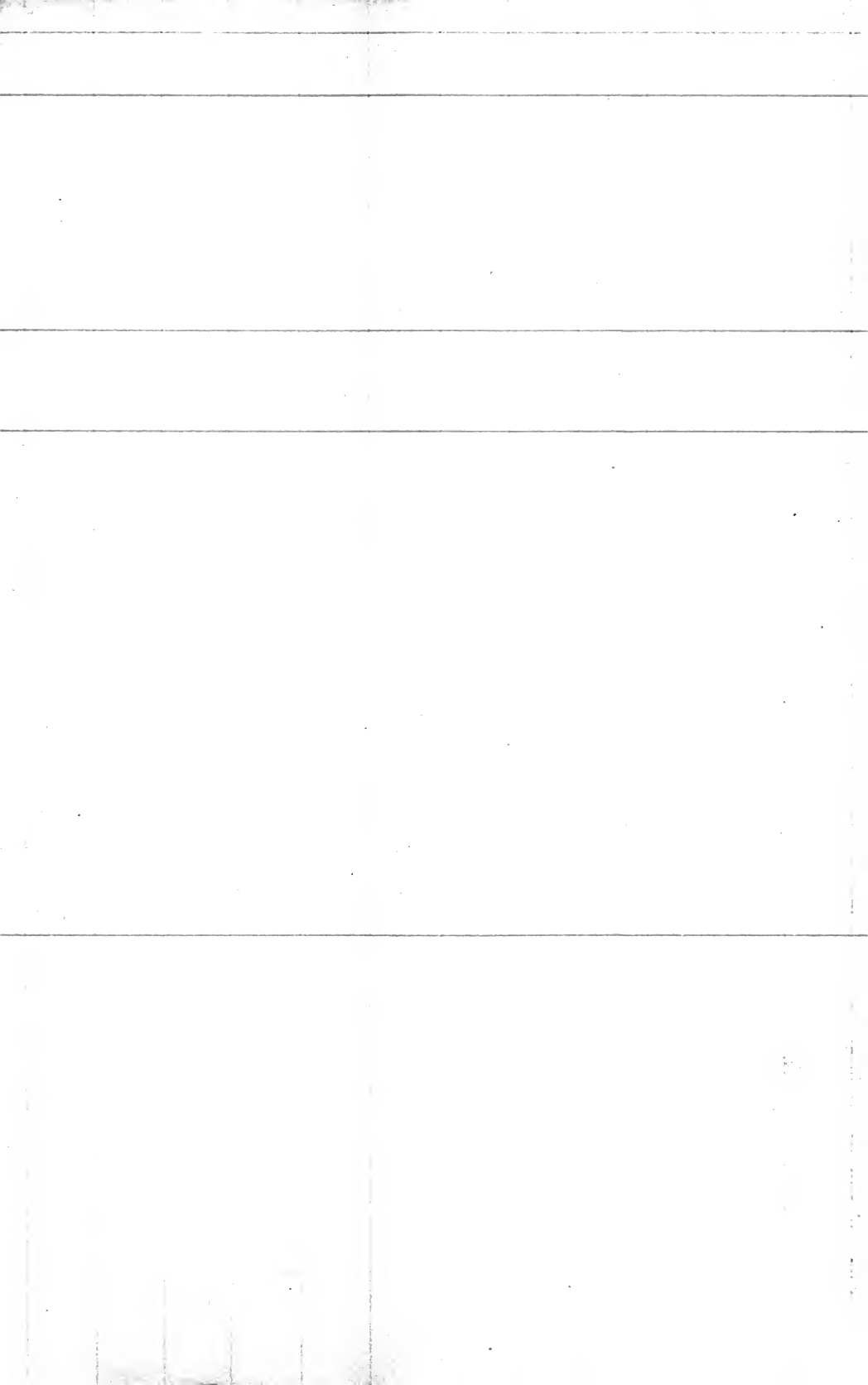
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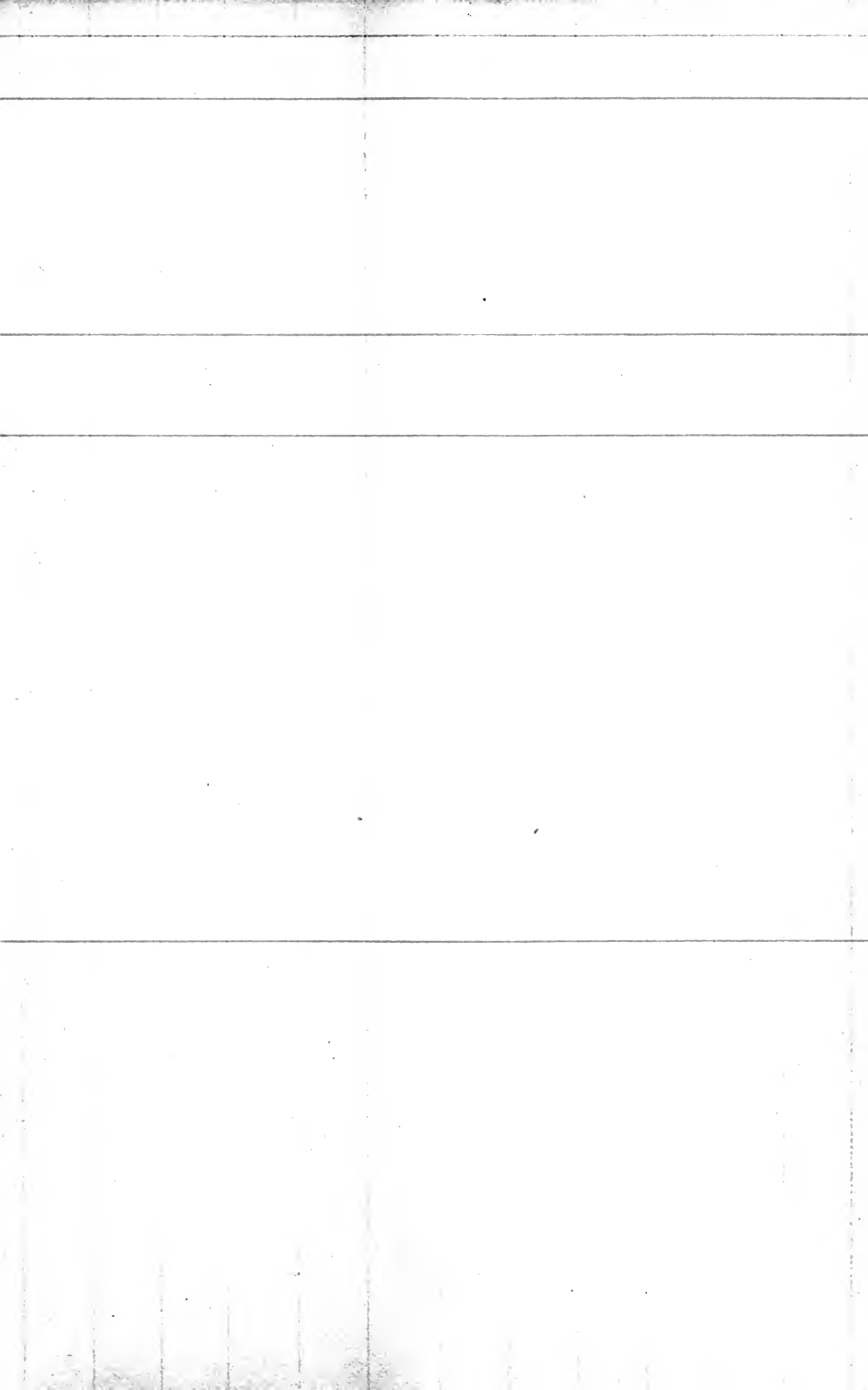
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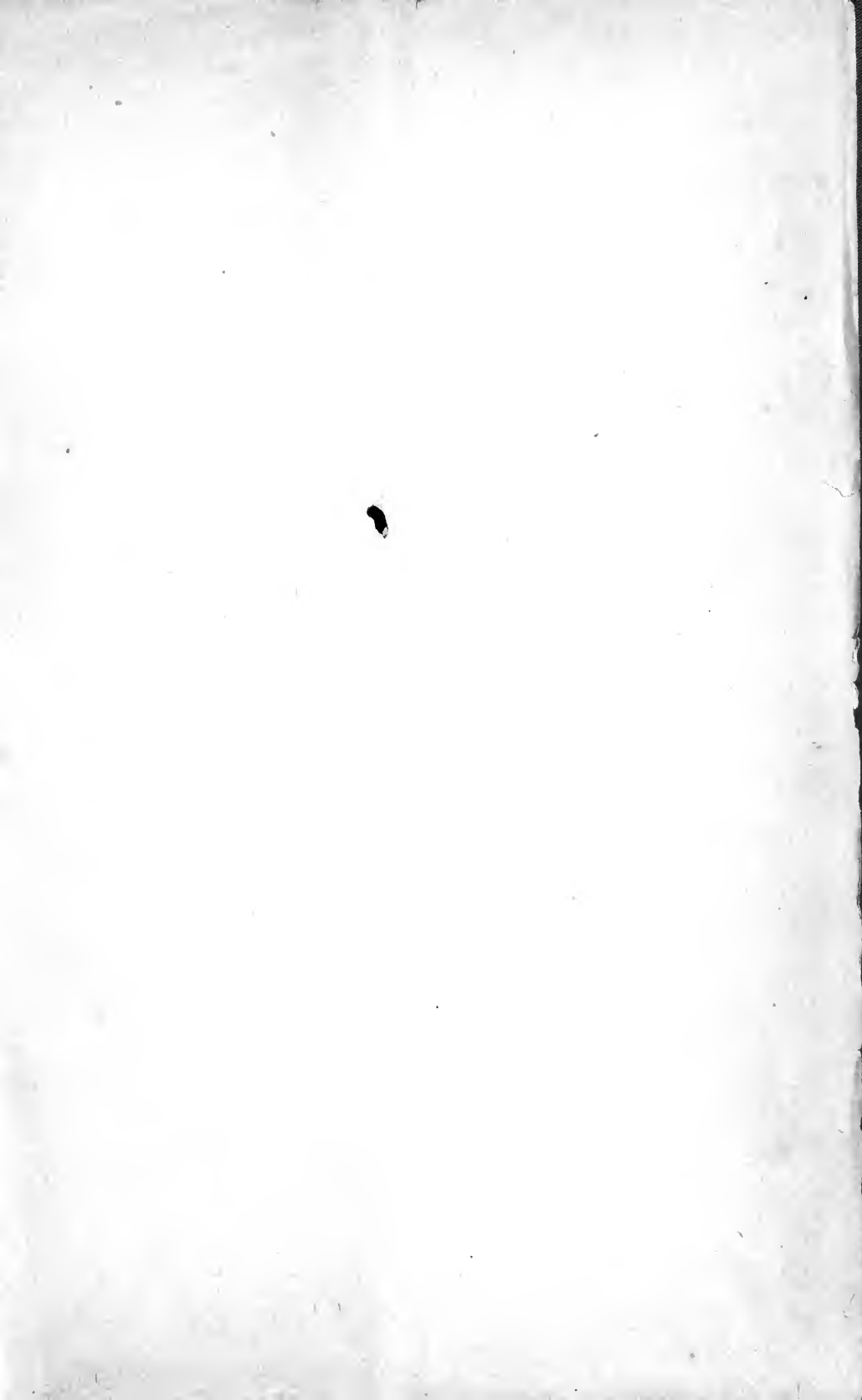
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